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Power and Gender Relations in the Television *Star Treks*: A Social Semiotic Analysis

by

Joseph E. F. Jackson

a thesis
submitted to the faculty of graduate studies and research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

Edmonton, Alberta
fall, 1990

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Jackson

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Department of Sociology, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Power and Gender Relations in the Television *Star Treks*: A Social Semiotic Analysis" submitted by Joseph E. F. Jackson in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology.

R A Morrow

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Dr. J. Wallace

Date 15 August 90

Abstract

Although cancelled in 1969 after three seasons, the television series *Star Trek* has flourished in syndication. In 1987, as a result of its relentless appeal, a new *Star Trek* series, with new characters, went into production. This study develops a textual analysis based on Will Wright's structural analysis of the American Western film (1975) and Hodge and Kress's *Social Semiotics* (1988). These two methods are briefly reviewed. The analysis begins with an application of Wright's structural methods. Two differing narrative sequences are identified: (1) the theme of intervention in the original *Star Trek*, and (2) the theme of non-intervention in *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. It is argued that changes in American foreign policy and shifts in cultural values since the 1960s have contributed to a more peaceful and less imperialistic vision of the future. Following this analysis, gender relations in one episode of each *Star Trek* series are examined. Structural and social semiotic techniques are used in the analysis of narrative structure, specific visual frames and portions of dialogue. Some evidence is found to suggest that women have received more favorable presentations in the new *Star Trek*. Next, theories related to political and organizational leadership are presented to define the scope of the topic and identify gaps in current research. To supplement earlier findings, a content analysis of leadership and gender representation in the old and new *Star Trek* is conducted. The results show that women in leadership positions have been significantly underrepresented in both television series. A social semiotic analysis is conducted to assess whether women have received positive or negative representations on the rare occasions in which they have been presented in positions of power. The findings suggest that female leaders have received more favorable presentations on *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. To account for these differences in leadership and gender representation, it is suggested that the second wave of the women's movement in the 1960s has led to a gradual legitimation of the notion of a professional working woman, both in the 'real' world, and on television. In closing, suggestions for future research are offered.

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I. Introduction

A. Science Fiction and the Star Trek Phenomenon

Science fiction's origins as a form of popular culture are by no means limited to the last 100 years. It is generally agreed that the Greek satirist, Lucien of Samosata was the first individual to write a story with a scientific emphasis (Douglas Manville, 1975). Others argue that science fiction's roots can be traced back to the 16th century text *Utopia* by Sir Thomas More (Raymond Williams, 1980; Darko Suvin, 1988). As Darko Suvin explains, "[utopian fiction] is one of the foremost among the ideological ancestors of [science fiction]" (1988: 42). In turn, other writers through history can also be credited with utopian and/or science fiction works. Indeed, Samuel Butler, Edward Bellamy, Edgar Allan Poe and C.S. Lewis paved the way for the adventurous tales of Jules Verne and the serious sociological fantasies of H.G. Wells (Manville, 1975).

With the advent of motion picture technology, science fiction was quick in adapting to a new medium. Probably the first true science fiction film was George Méliès' *A Trip To The Moon* (1902). Over the 60 years that followed this film, a great number of films with science fiction themes were produced. Some were little more than sensationalistic attempts at drawing in audiences; however, there were some attempts at more cerebral themes. Many of H. G. Wells' novels were adapted to film, as were many of the stories written by Jules Verne.

Following the Second World War, science fiction once again made the jump to a new medium: television. Most early science fiction series, such as *Lost in Space*, were targeted at specific audiences, and offered little more than brief entertainment and distraction. Shows such as these did not stand up well to the test of time. However, certain series have had an enduring appeal. Television series such as *The Twilight Zone* and *The Outer Limits* offered new, more controversial themes which often were morality plays or allegories of contemporary issues and injustices.

In the mid 1960s, the television series *Star Trek* emerged. It has since gained an unprecedented popularity. Initially the show did not fare well. Poor ratings were a constant problem, and there were always the everlooming predictions of cancellation. Had it not been for several letter writing campaigns, the series would probably not have made it past its first season. In the end, 79 episodes were produced over three seasons. *Star Trek*, however, did not simply fade into obscurity upon cancellation. Instead, it flourished in syndication through massive daily exposure in most major television markets. From this emerged a large fan following. *Star Trek* fan clubs were formed and regular conventions were held throughout North America and the world. In addition, countless *Star Trek* books, novels, magazines and comic books were, and still are, produced to quench the thirst of the "Trekkies", as they have come to be known.[1] Today, computer networks have user forums devoted to the discussion of topics related to *Star Trek*. Thus, *Star Trek*, rather than fading into obscurity has gained a mass following.

In 1973, 22 short animated shows were produced, with the voices of the original cast; and, in 1974, it was announced that a new series with the original cast was to begin production. Ultimately, this series became a motion picture, and since 1979, five major motion picture films have been made.[2] The idea of a new television series did not die with the move to the cinema. Instead, a new series, *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, with new cast members, set 78 years after the original series, went into production in 1987. In tackling a new series with new characters, Paramount Studios has faced the unenviable task of making it palatable for old and new followers alike. To date they appear to have succeeded insofar as 74

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[1]There also exist a large body of amateur/fan-written publications known as "fanzines". A sub-group of these fan stories focus on pornographic themes. For example, there have been a number of "K/S" fanzines which focus exclusively on a fictitious homosexual relationship between Captain Kirk and Mr. Spock (J. Russ: 1985).

[2]There are at present plans for a sixth movie to be released in 1991 to coincide with the 25th anniversary of the *Star Trek* television series.

episodes have been produced over three seasons.[3] Seventy-four episodes will have been made by June 1990.

With such a far-reaching popularity, the *Star Trek* universe has become a part of everyday life. It is not uncommon to hear passing or direct references to *Star Trek* on other television series, in commercials, in comedy sketches or even in everyday conversations. In a sense, the *Star Trek* phenomenon has taken on a life of its own. Vast quantities of memorabilia items have been produced. There has even been an attempt to catalogue and place values on such items. Games, clothing, costumes, blueprints, art, cels, videos, models, housewares, buttons, decals, patches, jewelry, posters, school and office supplies, music, scripts, toys and trading cards in no way exhaust the collectibles listed in Gentry and Gibson-Downs' *Encyclopedia of Trekkie Memorabilia* (1988). Hence, it should come as no surprise that Paramount Studios saw the merits of new *Star Trek* productions in the 1970s, 1980s and beyond.

At present the indications are that *Star Trek: The Next Generation* will last five or six seasons provided Paramount Studios continues to back the show financially.[4] Whether the series stands the test of time, or fades into obscurity, remains to be seen. To date it has suffered the inevitable comparisons with its 1960s cousin and appears to have emerged as a distinctive product rather than a clone of the original.[5] The production staff and writers, many of whom were part of the original series, have created a series with a distinctive flavour and philosophy, which remains true to the original while simultaneously reaching beyond in addressing new issues. Given these similarities and differences, an ideal stage has been set for

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[3] *Star Trek: The Next Generation* has been renewed for a fourth season.
[4] Michael Dorn expressed this belief in a 1988 television special "The *Star Trek* Saga: From One Generation to the Next".
[5] It is difficult to measure the popularity of the current *Star Trek* series since it is syndicated, i.e., a non-network show. As a result, its ratings must be compared on per-market basis. In February 1990, *Star Trek: The Next Generation* was being aired in over 230 markets across North America (*Variety*, Feb. 1990).

a more rigorous analytic examination of the meanings and contemporary cultural values transmitted by 20th century visions of the 23rd and 24th century in the television *Star Treks*.

B. Regimes of Production, Reception and Knowledge

Before attempting a comparison of the old and new *Star Trek* television series, a brief discussion of ideological complexes, and the regimes by which they are bound is necessary. Following Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress (1988), ideological complexes are socially defined constructs comprised of any number of ideological schema. These ideological schema represent the interests of differing groups. Typically, dominant groups (or groups wishing to dominate) attempt to enforce their ideological schema as a means of attaining and/or maintaining power and solidarity. Thus, when dominant groups succeed in enforcing their ideological schema, those who oppose them are, by default, 'dominated'.

As a whole, ideological complexes simultaneously represent the dominant and dominated orders. Consequently, there always exist countless tensions between conflicting ideological schema. These conflicts constrain social action, allowing greater freedoms for particular social agents, while restricting the actions of others. In effect, dominant ideological schema define a dominant reality in which particular social actions can occur. Producers depend on, and are bound by, these dominant schema. At the same time, receivers require a particular knowledge set to interpret any set of messages. This knowledge set is bound by the logonomic system.

According to Hodge and Kress, the knowledge system is the mechanism which controls the interaction of producers and receivers. They define the logonomic system as "a set of rules prescribing the conditions for production and reception of meanings; which specify who can claim to initiate (produce, communicate) or know (receive, understand) meaning about what topics under what circumstances and with what modalities (how, when, why)" (1988: 4). In essence, with any given set of messages, there are production regimes which define what

producers may produce, and reception regimes which define who may, or may not, receive a product. In addition, there exist genre regimes which define the boundaries of any genre. That is, a genre regime defines the features of the 'Western', 'Science Fiction', or any other genre.

Another crucial feature of the logonomic system is the knowledge regime. Every social agent possesses a unique knowledge set. It is this set of knowledge which constructs a version of social reality for the social agent. The knowledge regime, therefore, is the component which simultaneously constrains and allows the analyst to conduct any form of research. Hence, some element of prior knowledge must exist *prior* to any exploratory analysis.

To illustrate the importance of the knowledge regime, Hodge and Kress use the example of telling a joke (1988: 4-5). If the intended recipient of a joke does not recognize it as such due to a differing or conflicting knowledge regime, he or she will not understand it and may find it offensive. Similarly, with *Star Trek*, it the analyst fails to consider contextual regimes of production and reception in conducting any analysis, dominant ideological schema may be misinterpreted. Hence, the analyst must exercise extreme caution in any examination of messages which emanate from any set of messages, since he or she is also the product of a set of logonomic rules and, in turn, the logonomic system. Thus, in the following analysis of power and gender relations in the old and new *Star Treks*, emergent ideological schema and the rules of the logonomic system will be taken into consideration in an effort to better understand differences between the two television series.

C. Thesis Outline

To construct an appropriate analytical framework for the analysis and comparison of the television *Star Treks*, chapter two will begin by reviewing two methods which have been used in the analysis of popular culture phenomena. The first, developed by Will Wright in *Six Guns and Society: A Structural Study of the Western* (1975), is a method which can best be described as formalist. According to Paul DiMaggio, "formalists treat genres as comprising

works that share *conventions of form or content*" (1987: 441). Wright's analysis involves a rigid categorization of the Western film on the basis of its narrative structure and sequencing of events. Hence, the usefulness of his approach for the analysis of the television *Star Treks* will be primarily as a starting point for the more basic task of isolating particular themes and types of episodes which have predominated. It will be argued that the structural differences between the series can most effectively be handled and discussed through an adaptation of Wright's formalist methods.

However, it would be an incomplete effort to employ Wright's methods without an additional level of analysis. That is, the rigidity of his methods is a convenience in terms of classification, but simultaneously a hindrance in the examination of social meanings and messages transmitted by the film text. As Leo Braudy explains: [For Wright] only large-scale differences count as real differences. The individual fits his way cautiously into the big picture; the actor only inhabits the shell of his character; the individual western must fit its way into the great structure of the genre — or all will necessarily fail (1976: 762). Therefore, to fill this gap, Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress' *Social Semiotics* (1988) will be offered as a secondary means for analyzing and interpreting meaning in *Star Trek*.

Social semiotics is concerned with the generation and communication of meaning "as an inherently social phenomenon in its sources, functions, contexts, and effects" (Hodge and Kress: 261). Its methods allow for the analysis of texts and practices as well as the study of transformations over time. This, in turn, leaves room for the possibility of multiple meanings depending upon past and present contextual circumstances. Hence, the merging of Wright's structural methods with Hodge and Kress' social semiotics should set the stage for a methodology which will facilitate a comprehensive examination of meaning in the television *Star Treks*.

Chapter three will begin with a direct application of formalist structural techniques in the same manner that they were employed by Will Wright in his analysis of American Western

films. It will be argued that six episodes of the original *Star Trek* series can be characterized as interventionist, while none can be labelled as non-interventionist. In addition, it will be shown how eleven episodes of the ongoing television series *Star Trek: The Next Generation* have been non-interventionist and conciliatory, while none have had narratives structures which resemble the interventionist episodes found in the original series. It will be argued that these thematic differences are in part the result of oppositional command styles employed by the Captains of the old and new Enterprise. Thus, oppositional coding will be put forward as one outlet whereby cultural beliefs are transmitted. In turn, a brief discussion of changes in American foreign policy and cultural attitudes in the post-World War II era will be undertaken to further account for the thematic shift from intervention to non-intervention.

Chapter four will again employ Will Wright's methods, but in a more focused manner. For illustrative purposes, the analysis will compare "Space Seed", a *Star Trek* episode first aired in 1967, and "The Price", a *Next Generation* episode first aired in 1989. It is anticipated that this case study will offer a clear illustration of gender representation and power relations in the two series. In turn, it will be shown how the portrayal of men and women differs in these two episodes, suggesting that gender stereotypes may be less prevalent in *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. In addition, to uncover deeper structural meanings and implications than is possible with Wright's methods, Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress' social semiotic methods will be applied to specific visual frames and sequences of dialogue. This analysis will illustrate the value of social semiotics in understanding structural shifts in gender representation.

While the analysis conducted in the fourth chapter will identify differences in gender representation, it is primarily a tool for the demonstration and application of a methodological approach. That is, it would be premature to suggest based on the findings of an analysis of one episode from each series that it is indicative of a dramatic change in gender depictions and portrayals on television since the 1960s. To make such an assertion would

require a more rigourous comparison of the two series — including a content analysis of positions and roles in which men and women of the *Star Trek* universe have been cast.

It is with this in mind that the fifth chapter turns an analysis of leadership in the television *Star Treks*. First, a typology of political leadership in world cultures will be reviewed; next, the evolution of theories related to organizational leadership styles will be discussed; and, finally, feminist scholarship on organizational and political leadership will be presented. This review will serve to properly situate the topic in its historical context so that an appropriate stage is set for a qualitative and quantitative analysis of leadership and gender representation in the television *Star Treks*.

The quantitative dimension will be a relatively simple content analysis of gender representation and leadership in the two television series, while the qualitative discussion, following Hodge and Kress' social semiotic methods, will take on an analysis of the presentation of women in leadership positions in the television *Star Treks*. The content analysis will reveal that women have been significantly underrepresented in leadership positions in both *Star Trek* television series. In response to this underrepresentation, a social semiotic analysis will consider whether women have received more favorable presentations when they have been cast in positions of power. To situate these findings in the context of other television studies, a brief overview of research related to the the characterization of women on television since the 1960s will be conducted. The purpose of this discussion will be to assess whether there has been a general shift towards more favorable representations of gender relations on television.

To conclude, chapter six will briefly review the central findings of the present thesis. The usefulness of semiotics in the evaluation of power relations, *Star Trek* and social change will be addressed. Finally, suggestions for future analyses of gender and power relations on television will be offered.

II. Method

A. Will Wright's Structural Analysis of the Western

In *Six Guns and Society* (1975), Will Wright takes on an ambitious project. His objective is the development and application of a methodology which can effectively explain meaning in American Western films. He feels that most analyses prior to his efforts have been superficial and purely descriptive, "based mostly on preconceived categories [with] virtually no reference to the social context of the myth" (1975: 201). Instead, Wright wishes to tie in the ideology of American society inherent in the Western film. He states that "it is only by analyzing the ideology in the myth and its relation to objective social conditions that a study of the Western or any genre can claim to increase the rational consciousness of that society" (1975: 200-201). To achieve this, Wright adopts a structural methodology. He looks upon the Western as a contemporary myth and seeks to unravel the reasons for its continued popularity. He draws upon anthropological sources and their analyses of tribal myths as well as linguistic theory. The myth, explains Wright, has a socially specific symbolic content and "exhibits an unconscious, formal structure through which its elements have meaning" (1975: 12).

Wright is careful to limit his study to films as he feels that it is in this form that the Western genre has taken on its mythical proportions. Furthermore, he selects only those films which were profitable at the box office, since he assumes these "successful Westerns correspond most exactly to the expectations of the audience, [and] to the meanings the viewers demand from the myth" (1975: 13). A clear pattern is revealed with this approach and Wright is able to identify four specific types of financially successful Westerns from a forty year period (1931-1972). Within different periods, different narrative structures predominate. He argues that "within these periods the structure of the myth corresponds to the conceptual needs of social and self-understanding required by the dominant social institutions of that

period" (1975: 14). Hence, when the Western film's structure changes, it is symbolic of changes in the structure of dominant institutions.

Wright's analysis draws extensively from the structural studies of Claude Lévi-Strauss. Lévi-Strauss' work demonstrated the existence of "formal, conceptual structures in tribal myths [which are] inherent in the human mind" (1975: 16). Wright departs, however, from this psychological base. His interests are not to demonstrate the presence of a mental structure, but to illustrate how myths, as a result of their structure, "communicate a conceptual order to the members of society" (1975: 17). Hence, Wright is concerned with social as opposed to psychological meaning.

To reconcile his divergence from Lévi-Strauss, Wright incorporates Kenneth Burke's methods for literary analysis. Burke believed that human communication relies extensively on symbols. These symbols are what give language structure. They can either be the same or different and allow language systems to classify and to establish order. In Burke's literary analysis, he interprets interactions as a reflection or representation of social order. Hence, characters do not simply interact in a vacuum; they always represent social principles. As Wright explains: "A fight in a narrative would not simply be a conflict of men, but a conflict of principles — good versus evil, rich versus poor, black versus white" (1975: 19).

Wright finds Burke's insights into the functions of symbols valuable. One main weakness, however, is the lack of a systematic method for interpreting a narrative structure. Hence, to overcome this weakness, Wright merges Burke's theoretical approach with Lévi-Strauss' methodology. Lévi-Strauss' method was to examine the binary oppositions found in the structure of tribal myths. He borrowed this method from the linguist Roman Jakobson who asserted that "the dichotomous scale ... is inherent in the structure of language" (1975: 22). However, Lévi-Strauss' justification for using a binary analysis is unsatisfactory for Wright. Lévi-Strauss argued that the "binary structure of myth permits myths to 'signify the mind'" (1975: 22). For Wright this is too elusive a statement; instead,

he adopts the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure's arguments for binary analysis. For Saussure, meaning is derived from what a symbol represents as well as all that it does not represent. That is, one can learn more about a symbol by knowing "exactly what it does not mean" (1975: 22). Hence, meaning is irrelevant without a knowledge of differences. Consequently, an oppositional analysis of the structure of the Western is essential for Wright. He believes that "it presents a symbolically simple but remarkably deep conceptualization of American social beliefs" (1975: 23).

In examining oppositions in Westerns, Wright believes the 'meaning' of characters and their actions will be made clear. However, at another level, oppositions fail to make clear what characters 'do'. To achieve this level of analysis, the narrative structure of the Western must be examined. For Lévi-Strauss, the narrative is "superficial, or apparent content; the real, conceptual meaning of myth is established and communicated by the structure of oppositions" (1975: 24). Wright considers this to be unacceptable. As he explains: "social action requires interaction, and interaction takes place in the story of a myth, not in the structure of oppositions. Thus, to fully understand the social meaning of a myth, it is necessary to analyze not only its binary structure but its narrative structure ... unless we know what they mean to people" (1975: 24). With this assertion, the stage is set for Wright's own methodology for the analysis of the Western.

One final ingredient needed for Wright's analysis is a more systematic and rigorous means for describing the narrative structure than that used by Burke. Such a method is offered by Vladimir Propp's analysis of Russian folk tales. Wright employs what he terms a 'liberalized version' of Propp's methodology. Essentially, he eliminates the most limiting feature of Propp's approach: the insistance that the sequence of events for actions always follow the same order. Wright believes this to be unnecessary. He argues that even though there may not always be a fixed order in the Western film, there is nevertheless a loose order which ultimately leads to the same outcome.

With Wright's methodological and theoretical approach made clear, it is now possible to briefly outline his operationalization of the methods that he has chosen to merge. Wright isolates four types of Western films: the 'Classical Plot', the 'Vengeance Variation', the 'Transition Theme', and the 'Professional Plot'. For each type, he outlines a set of shared functions. That is, he develops a list of one sentence descriptions for the narrative structure. Each sentence describes "either a single action or a single attribute of a character" (1975: 25). For example, "The hero enters a social group" is the first function of the Classical Plot. In addition, Wright identifies three sets of characters in the Western: the hero, the villain and the society. These three sets of characters often operate in opposition to one another through the course of a narrative, and it is their relationships and attributes that give meaning to what they do.

The fact that Wright is able to identify four types of narrative structures is crucial for his analysis. The oppositions, however, remain the same and according to Wright, are far less likely to change, because, "the concepts that define and differentiate people in a society are rooted in the beliefs and attitudes, and finally in the institutions, of that society; for them to change, the society itself must change to such a degree that it would essentially be a new society" (1975: 25). A new society, however, is not the necessary outcome of changes in narrative structure; this simply reflects changes in interaction, as institutions in American society change. Hence, the four narrative stages of the Western present a "model of social action in terms of the same types of people" (1975: 28) who reflect institutional changes in American society.

In addition to the three sets of characters, Wright further distinguishes four pairs of oppositions in which at least two characters are often placed. First, there are characters inside and outside society; second, there are those who are good or bad; third, there is the distinction between those who are strong and those who are weak; and, finally, there is the civilization/wilderness distinction, which differs from being inside or outside of society insofar

as "villains may be outside of society but [nevertheless] are always seen as part of civilization" (1975: 49). The usefulness of these oppositions is the manner in which they complement the 'sets of functions' for each type of plot sequence. The ways in which these oppositions will change, according to Wright, accounts for the emergence of each new stage of the Western plot. To briefly illustrate: the hero in the 'Classical Plot' is always outside society; however, in the 'Vengeance Variation', there is "a movement of an estranged hero into society" (1975: 69). This accounts in part (along with all other oppositional changes identified) for changes at the narrative level from one stage to the next in terms of the sets of functions identified.

Wright's structural analysis of the Western offers a valuable framework from which other popular culture genre can be analyzed. However, he is not content to simply apply his methods without a discussion of the significance of his findings. His final chapters focus upon an explanation of the transitions from one narrative stage to the next in terms of institutional changes and social context. He provides "an independent analysis of the social institutions of America and demonstrate[s] the correlation between the structure of the Western and the structure of ... institutions" (1975: 130). His purpose is not so much to show how myths are created by an institution or how myths make institutions, but to demonstrate how the structure of the Western "symbolically refl] the structure of social actions as those actions are patterned and constrained by the cultural institutions of society" (1975: 130-31).

To illustrate, Wright examines economic and political shifts. He points out that both the 'Classical' and the 'Professional Plots' coincide with periods of economic organization. Hence, the Western myth serves not only as a relay of these institutional changes, but also as an outlet whereby resolutions to contemporary problems are offered. Thus, the parallels between the narrative functions and oppositions presented in the Western not only illustrate changes in cultural values and beliefs, but "contain a conceptual analysis of society that provides a model for social action (1975: 185). Consequently, the appeal of the Western myth for the viewer lies in its capacity to demonstrate contemporary cultural and institutional

variations, while simultaneously offering resolutions to oppositional situations. As Wright explains, "institutions change because of technology, war, migration, or depression, so the narrative structure of the myth must change" (1975: 188).

Will Wright's book *Six Guns and Society* is a useful starting point for the analysis of meaning in popular culture phenomena. What it lacks, however, is a more specific consideration of the different meanings a text can elicit depending upon the conditions of interaction. That is, a Western film will not necessarily mean the same thing to all people in all situations, in space or time. In *Social Semiotics* (1988), Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress deal with this problem of multiple meanings. Implicit in Wright's analysis was a rigidity; an assumption of the absoluteness of the meanings he uncovered. He viewed meanings, as well as his explanations of meanings, as 'things' fixed within the text. Hodge and Kress reject this approach. In their view meanings are always arrived at through negotiation; an ongoing dialogue between the reader or viewer and the text. Meaning can "never simply be imposed inexorably from above by an omnipotent author through an absolute code" (1988: 12). Instead, an alternate methodological approach is offered: social semiotics. Prior to a discussion of social semiotics a brief review of the history of semiotic analysis is necessary to contextualize Hodge and Kress' work.

B. Hodge and Kress' Social Semiotics

The Origins of Semiotic Analysis

Semiotics, in part, can be traced to the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and his rejection of traditional linguistics. Saussure believed that one should not study the meanings of words in isolation. Instead, he felt that the object of analysis should be the meanings of linguistic units (or words) as they are employed in everyday interaction. That is, he stressed "the system of relations between words as the source of meaning" (David Silverman, 1986:

56). In addition, Saussure felt that there should be a move away from the conventional diachronic (historical) methods of analysis used by linguists. He believed that synchronic (ahistorical) analysis was all that one needed for the study of the meaning of language. As Hugh Silverman explains, Saussure believed that: "No matter what recent changes a language has undergone, it remains, at any given point of time, a complete system" (1986: 56). Consequently, using Saussure's methods, meaning is never derived from any verbal/linguistic unit taken in isolation; it must always rely upon other contextual factors.

For Saussure, all linguistic units were signs; his focus was the complex set of interrelations between signs. John Fiske (1982) defines signs as "artefacts or acts that refer to something other than themselves ... they are signifying constructs" (1982: 2). He explains that the sign for Saussure "was a physical object with a meaning ... [It] ... consisted of a *signifier* and a *signified*" (1982: 47). The signifier is the actual concrete physical existence of a sign as an individual sees it. The signified is the mental concept. Taken together, the signifier and the signified are what make up the sign; they are what give signs meaning. Fiske argues that the mental concept is a shared phenomenon "broadly common to all members of the same culture who share the same language" (1982: 47). Thus, semiotic analysis allows the possibility of multiple perceptions and meanings of the same sign.

Social Semiotics

In *Social Semiotics*, Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress reinterpret traditional semiotics. They acknowledge that semiotics does offer "the promise of a systematic, comprehensive and coherent study of communications phenomena as a whole" (1988: 1). However, their central critique is the lack of a social dimension in conventional semiotic analysis. They believe that "the social dimensions of semiotic systems are so intrinsic in their nature and function that the systems cannot be studied in isolation" (1988: 1). They object to the artificial barrier which has been built by semioticians between the meaning of signs and society. Consequently,

they use Saussure as an 'antiguide' in their construction of an alternate semiotics, or social semiotics. Some of the features incorporated into their revised version of semiotics include: the importance of culture, society, politics, the speech act, time, history, process and change. Their goal with social semiotics is the creation of a method whereby one may dissect and explain the world in terms of past and present transformations.

Hodge and Kress define semiotics as "the general study of semiosis, that is the processes and effects of the production and reproduction, reception and circulation of meaning in all forms, used by all kinds of agents of communication" (1988: 261). Social semiotic's scope reaches a step further. It is "primarily concerned with human semiosis as an inherently social phenomenon [and] ... social meanings constructed through the full range of semiotic forms, through semiotic texts and semiotic practices" across space and time (1988: 261). Semiotic phenomena for Hodge and Kress cross two planes: the mimetic and the semiosic. The mimetic plane is the plane of reference. That is, it represents some form or interpretation of reality. The semiosic plane is the semiotic event. It represents the "event(s), linking producers and receivers and signifiers and signified into a significant relationship" (1988: 262). The mimetic and semiosic planes are interdependent and, according to Hodge and Kress, one cannot exist without the other.

The smallest unit of meaning in social semiotics is the message. A message is the combination of at least two signs. These signs are units of meaning and, when organized, comprise a "syntagmatic structure or syntagm" (1988: 262). A syntagm is a meaningful combination of signs in space-time" (1988: 262). The sign exists at the level of the syntagmatic plane. The syntagmatic plane operates in conjunction with a paradigmatic structure. This paradigmatic plane is essentially a classification system of an "organized sets of choices" from which a sign's meaning may be derived. As explained above, the sign is made up of a signifier and signified. The signifier is the message, while the signified is the context in which the signifier attains its meaning.

Hodge and Kress stress that sign systems operate best in situations where "there is a clear link between signifiers and signifieds by all users of the sign" (1988: 262). In circumstances where the signifier and signified do not mesh naturally, the end result is "an inaccessible link ... leading to systematic distortion" (1988: 262) of meaning. Thus, signs can be transparent or opaque in quality. The more clear a sign, the more transparent it is to the interpreter. The more opaque, the greater the ambiguity. Messages, are organized into sets of signs. These organized sets are called metasigns. Taken in differing combinations these metasigns signify different features of the semiosic plane and, in turn, affect the resultant behavior of the receiver. Typically, metasigns are "composed of transparent signs as *markers*" (1988: 262).

In semiotics and social semiotics, semiotic structures are constructed by the combination and/or separation of signs. Thus, these structures are a meshing of similarities and differences into unique wholes. As Hodge and Kress explain: "acts of separation imply a prior unity, and acts of joining act on a prior stage of greater disunity" (1988: 263). Thus, semiotic structures may expand or contract depending upon the receiver's interpretation. For example, Hodge and Kress cite two types of contraction: negation and choice. Negation acquires meaning from "the positive that it rejects, so that forms of negation signify the possibility of a[n alternate] positive term" (1988: 263). Choices differ from negation insofar as they are only one type of negative. That is, a choice is the act of accepting one possibility, while simultaneously rejecting another. Indeed, as Hodge and Kress stress, choice is only one part of negation, and "is only meaningful in relation to the fuller structure of what is chosen and what is rejected" (1988: 263).

Another manner in which semiosic structures may be identified is though their cohesiveness and order. Cohesiveness refers to the manner in which structures fit (or do not fit) together. Order describes the manner in which vertical or horizontal structures relate. Hodge and Kress define vertical ordering relationships as hypotaxic, and horizontal

relationships as parataxic. In simpler terms, structures can exist at different levels. These levels are determined by the analytic approach employed. That is, semiosic 'entry', i.e., analysis, can occur at the macro, meso and micro structure level(s). Macro structures are structures "so large in space or time as to be difficult to perceive directly" (1988: 263). Meso structures, are small enough to be easily accessible. Finally, micro structures are structures that are too small to be perceived readily.

On the syntagmatic plane, Hodge and Kress identify the text as one of the more useful points of departure for social semiotic analysis. The text can be any "string of messages in which is ascribed a semiosic unity" (1988: 263). Often texts can be the merging of a multiplicity of messages from more than one 'producer'. These messages are usually made up of "both mimetic and [a] series of metasigns, which together project both a version of reality and a version of the semiosic conditions of the text" (1988: 264). On the semiosic plane, discourse is another useful starting block for analysis. Discourse is the act, or unfolding, of semiosis as opposed to the complete unit, or text. However, discourse is only one part of the text; it cannot exist independently from the text. Therefore, Hodge and Kress argue that discourse is the most appropriate unit of analysis in semiotic analysis insofar as it is always "a major signified of any text" (1988: 263).

Paradigmatic structures are composed of items and classifiers. Items are the materials being organized, while classifiers are the labels items receive. Accordingly, paradigmatic structures do not exist unless "they can be realized materially, in texts, either through relational syntagms ... or through markers (signifiers of classifiers and classifications)" (1988: 264). Paradigmatic structures do not differ in complexity from syntagmatic structures. Both structure types can be exceedingly complex. What gives them their meaning is whether they are seen as possessing a "semiosic force in so far as they are thought to exist" (1988: 264).

Modality is another crucial factor for the meaning a message will have in semiotic analysis. Modality is "the presumed relationship of [a message's] mimetic content to a world of referents" (1988: 263). Modality judgements can be placed on a continuum from affirmation to negation, i.e., a high to weak affinity to the reference system. Within the text, modality markers are the means by which modality is recognized. The receiver employs modality cues to identify these modality markers. In addition, texts can range from being densely to lightly modalized, depending upon the number of modality markers present.

Social semiotics reintroduces the diachronic dimension. Hodge and Kress explain that: "diachronic structures are constituted by either contiguity (identity/opposition over time, either continuous or discontinuous) or by change or transformation" (1988: 265). This reintroduction of the diachonic does not exclude the synchronic axis. Indeed, the synchronic axis remains an integral part of social semiotic analysis. Hodge and Kress believe that the difference between the diachronic and synchronic is relative rather than absolute. For example, following their arguments, the act of watching an episode of *Star Trek* is a diachronic experience because it cannot be seen instantaneously. In turn, each frame is a synchronic syntagm which must be taken in one at a time. Hence, social semiotics introduces new possibilities for the analysis of meanings. Rather than simply examining the oppositions of the characters in a film, one can consider a wide range of contextual signs.

By 'change' Hodge and Kress are referring to continuous and discontinuous processes. Continuous processes are called 'slides'. These slides are examined in isolation in the manner one might analyze a portrait or a sculpture. However, slides may also be analyzed for discontinuous features. By doing so one can identify transformations within any particular text. At the very least, transformational analysis of discontinuities "involves an initial and a final structure, ... a process, a force and an agent producing the change" (1988: 265). Transformations can be found on both the mimetic and semiosic plane. Mimetic transformations can result in either syntagmatic or paradigmatic transformations. In turn,

once identified, mimetic transformations may be explained in terms of the semiosic plane and its capacity to account for the "forces producing the change and its social meaning" (1988: 265).

Meaning in transformational analyses is arrived at though an interpretation of the "sequence of material structures and the material agents [a text] projects" (1988: 265). This can result in numerous 'pseudo histories' previously undetected by the receiver. Together these pseudo histories make up one part of a text's meaning. Essentially, receivers "construct their own versions of history, as part of the interpretive process" (1988: 265). At the same time, there are always some transformations which have been made permanently inaccessible. Thus, the identification of all transformations in any text is an unrealistic objective. As Hodge and Kress note, "[t]he status of a transformational analysis ... is never absolute, but always refer to a particular semiosic event or state" (1988: 265-266).

Social relations and power relations are intrinsically intertwined in semiotic analysis. Power relations can be complementary or in opposition. When power relations are in opposition, conflict and struggle are often the result. These conflicts and struggles are often the result of "different social categories based on class, race, gender, age, and other aspects of group formation." (1988: 266). Differing ideological schemas characterize oppositional groups. Such groups often generate support and conflict on the semiosic plane with textual materials which both overtly and covertly espouse their ideological schemas. However, as Hodge and Kress point out, "the ideological content of texts is typically characterized by contradiction and inconsistency, [making] ... the functional unit for analysis not the ideological schema but the ideological complex" (1988: 266). The ideological complex includes two or more sets of ideological schema. In this sense one can compare the old and new *Star Trek* television series as two separate ideational schema which make up a unitary ideational complex. Thus, the ways in which ideational schema resemble and differ from one another in the 23rd and 24th century *Star Treks* is the ultimate the goal of an analysis of the ideational

complex which defines the entire *Star Trek* universe.

Ideational complexes exist at the level of the mimetic plane. They are also bound by logonomic systems. According to Hodge and Kress, "logonomic systems constrain social behavior through rules prescribing semiotic production: who is able/forbidden to produce or receive what meanings under what circumstances and in what codes" (1988: 266). Through various means, these logonomic systems are enforced at any place or time by structural constraints. That is, "known categories and rules and active enforcers with means of communication and enforcement" (1988: 266) ensure that the logonomic system operates as expected.

The transmission of the logonomic system takes place on the semiosic plane. There are four modes through which this can occur: production regimes, reception regimes, genre regimes and regimes of knowledge. In production regimes, rules relating to producers specify the meaning that can be produced and in what manner they may be expressed. With reception regimes, the rules are structured in terms of who may and who may not receive the semiosic content of a text. Genre regimes categorize texts, thus constraining the possible meaning as well as the resultant production and reception regimes. Finally, regimes of knowledge relate to the accessibility of textual materials on the semiosic plane. That is, some texts will be, or are, inaccessible to receivers and/or producers if they do not possess the required knowledge to understand their meaning. Thus, a social semiotic analysis of the television *Star Treks* would prove futile if the analyst lacked the necessary regime of knowledge to properly contextualize any inferred meanings. In other words, the social semiotician cannot ignore the extracontextual features of a text; his or her analysis cannot take place in a vacuum.

Thus, with this methodological structure in place, Hodge and Kress use social semiotics to examine such diverse areas as conversational exchanges and the negotiation of power; the physical relationships of objects within a text; the rules that govern speech and power relationships; the significance of grammar and accents; the signs of gender; and, the

transformative stages which account for a text's meaning. Their revision of semiotics, therefore, opens the door for a far more intricate analysis of meanings in texts and offers a new level which overcomes many of the rigidities of more conventional semiotic and structural methods.

It should be noted that there are some limitations to the meanings derived from a social semiotic analysis. This, however, should not dissuade one from attempting such an analysis. Indeed, as Hodge and Kress explain, the meanings derived are "complex and specific to the text ... They are guesses not facts ... but this is by no means a reason why semioticians should avoid attempting it" (1988: 168). A second limitation of Hodge and Kress' approach is a lack of unity. That is, with each section and chapter, yet another method for analysis is offered. Unfortunately, no effort is made to systematically merge the different types of analyses presented. Consequently, it would be an endless task to attempt a full social semiotic analysis of the television *Star Treks*. In the following chapters, specific themes will be developed, and the most appropriate techniques will be selected, to demonstrate the strengths of a social semiotic approach.

III. Applying Wright's Narrative Structural Methods to Star Trek

A. The Star Trek Universe

Before conducting an analysis of the television *Star Treks*, a brief summary of the *Star Trek* universe is necessary. The original *Star Trek* television series is set at some point in the 23rd century. *Star Trek: The Next Generation* is set in the latter half of the 24th century. Wars are a phenomenon of the past on Earth. It has become a peaceful and tolerant planet under the rule of a single government: The United Federation of Planets (UFP). The Federation's main base is on Earth. Following David Rosen's typology of leadership systems[6], 23rd century Earth is a democratic, stratiform society, with a closed system in which leadership roles are restricted. Similarly, the Federation is a democratic organization. It is devoted to the well-being and protection of its member planets and maintains space stations and outposts throughout the galaxy.

The mode of distribution for leadership positions within the Federation is restricted. Although positions are achieved, some barriers to advancement, such as biological sex, do exist in the 23rd century. These restrictions will be discussed further on. For the Federation, the goal of space travel is the discovery of new worlds and, hopefully, suitable member planets. Once a planet joins the Federation, it receives the privileges of membership and military protection from Starfleet against outside attackers. Thus, in the 23rd and 24th centuries, the Earth is an exceedingly powerful military center despite the fact it has eliminated its own internal conflicts and wars.

The Federation's sphere of dominance is somewhat unclear. According to Jay Goulding, the original series was set in "a very small sector of the Milky Way. About fifty major planets occup[ied] 1400 cubic parsecs of space" (1985: 15). From this center, Federation Starships make journeys into uncharted areas of space as well as sectors of

[6]For a review of Rosen's typology, see chapter five.

disputed ownership. For the most part, the Federation makes war with two alien races: the Klingon and Romulan Empires. Treaty agreements with these Empires are all that stand between peace and the outbreak of an interstellar war. The societies of both Empires can be classified as authoritarian and stratiform. Information related to Romulan society is limited; however, in Klingon society, leadership positions are usually ascribed and at times ruthlessly, yet legitimately, achieved. Klingons are a proud people; they value honour above all else. To die in battle is considered the highest honour. However, leadership positions can be highly tenuous. For example, in Klingon society, advances in rank are often achieved by the murder of one's superior officer when a subordinate detects weakness. Thus, for Klingons, leadership is a reciprocal exchange similar to James Hunt's definition of 'supervision' insofar as the process is continually open to the scrutiny of others.[7]

Jay Goulding argues that the distribution of the Federation and its enemies is "consistent with the frontier mentalities, the federation occupies the centre of its exploration territory and like a wagon train is surrounded by barbaric enemies" (1985: 15). Indeed, some analysts see the Star Trek universe as an extension of the western myth. (Jane Elizabeth Ellington and Joseph W. Critelli, 1983; Wm. Blake Tyrell, 1977). As Wm. Blake Tyrell explains, "the dominant symbol of the Western myth has been the frontier" (1977: 711). Similarly, the exploration of the 'final frontier' is the central purpose in the Star Trek universe.

A fleet of starships maintains order in Federation space. In the original series, the flagship of the fleet is the U.S.S Enterprise, NCC-1701. An assignment onboard the Enterprise is considered to be the greatest honour. Only the best officers from the Starfleet and its Academy receive such an assignment. The Enterprise has a crew of 430 men and women. For the most part the crew are white males; however, a substantial number of women and individuals of other races are seen. The mission of the Enterprise is straightforward. It is

[7]See chapter five.

a "five year mission to explore strange new worlds, to seek out new life and new civilizations, to boldly go where no man has gone before".[1] Thus, in a sense, the crews of the old and new Enterprise are no different from the pioneers who first colonized and explored North America. The principal divergence is in their philosophy. Officially, the mission of the Enterprise is one of peace and scientific exploration. They are bound by a 'prime directive' which forbids them from interfering with, disrupting or altering the development of alien societies.

Technology in the *Star Trek* universe is highly developed. There are phasers which can be used to stun or kill a person, and hand-held tricorders are used by the crew to scientifically analyze the surface environment of a planet. The Enterprise is a powerful weapon. It can travel many times the speed of light and with its phaser banks and/or photon torpedoes has the capacity to level a city or a world. The ship does not land, the crew are 'beamed' down by a transporter. In addition, medical technology has advanced to the point where many previously fatal diseases are curable. In *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, technology has made further advances. For example, the Enterprise houses a holodeck in which one may ask the computer to simulate whatever situation, or scenario, one desires. The holodeck is normally used for recreational activities by the crew.

The cast of regular and semi-regular characters in the original *Star Trek* was ground-breaking for a 1960s television series. It included a black woman, an Asian, a Russian, and an alien from another planet. What follows is a brief description of these principal characters. The captain of the Enterprise is James T. Kirk (William Shatner). He is a white, all-American, physically active individual. He is cunning, alert and exceedingly patriotic in his role as a representative of the Federation. At times he can be irrational and impulsive. He is often called upon to be a disturbance handler. When confronted with important

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[1]This is voice-over dialogue from the opening credits. In *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, it is "to boldly go where no *one* has gone before". The significance of this difference will be discussed further on.

decision-making responsibilities, he is usually task-oriented. His leadership style is at times socio-emotional; however, he is able to set aside close friendships for the well-being of his ship and crew when necessary. Captain Kirk's First Officer is Mr. Spock (Leonard Nimoy). He serves a double role as First Officer and Science Officer onboard the Enterprise. He is an alien humanoid of mixed parentage. His mother was a human, his father a Vulcan. Spock has pointed ears and slightly yellowish-green skin. Unlike Kirk, Spock is an extremely calm and controlled individual. He is devoted to logic and reason and avoids expressing any emotions. The Chief Medical Officer on the Enterprise is Dr. Leonard McCoy (DeForest Kelley). He is a white male from the southern United States. He is a very emotional and sensitive individual. He does not hesitate to question the Captain's actions and maintains an ongoing feud with the emotionless Mr. Spock. Lieutenant Commander Montgomery Scott (James Doohan) is the Enterprise's Chief Engineer. Mr. Scott is white and of Scottish ancestry. He is third in line for command of the Enterprise. His first love is the Enterprise and he devotes all his available time to the maintenance and repair of the ship.

Kirk, Spock, McCoy and Scott are the characters most frequently seen in the original *Star Trek* television series. In addition to these four individuals are four semi-regulars who contribute to the series' continuity. Lieutenant Nyota Uhura (Nichelle Nichols) is the Enterprise's Communications officer. She is a black, African and fifth in line for command.[9] Lieutenant Hikaru Sulu (George Takei) is the ship's helmsman. He is of Asian ancestry. His role is rarely developed beyond that of taking orders. Ensign Pavel Andreivich Chekov (Walter Koenig) is the ship's navigator and acts as Science Officer when Mr. Spock is absent. He is white and of Russian origin. The final series regular is Nurse Christine Chapel (Majel Barrett). She is a white American and assists Dr. McCoy. Thus, with this cast of regulars and semi-regulars, the Starship Enterprise maintains order and explores Federation

[9]While Uhura is never given command of the Enterprise through the course of the series, she does take command of the ship in one animated episode.

space.

By *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, the Federation's dominance has expanded considerably. The Klingon's have joined the Federation and technology has improved to the point where they can travel even greater distances in space. The U.S.S. Enterprise NCC-1701-D is now flagship of the fleet. It is a new and improved 'galaxy class' ship. It houses a crew of well over 1000 men, women and children. This is the greatest difference with the *Star Trek* universe of the 24th century. It has become sufficiently peaceful that military families are able to travel together in space as a small fully functioning and self-sufficient community; a city in space. While parents perform their duties, their children attend school or daycare.

Like its 1960s cousin, *Star Trek: The Next Generation* has a diverse cast of characters. The Captain of the Enterprise is Jean-Luc Picard (Patrick Stewart). He is white and of French ancestry. He is a serious and at times severe commander. He does not like making quick or impulsive decisions. Instead, he is calm and deliberate in his actions. While his leadership style must necessarily be task-oriented, he is far more socio-emotional in his focus than Kirk. He always considers the well-being of his crew before engaging in any confrontation. As a result, he is a negotiator first and only fights if persistently provoked by an alien presence or society. Overall, Picard loosely fits Rosener and Schwartz's definition of the "alpha" leadership style[10] insofar as he, more so than Kirk, consistently employs analytical, rational and quantitative thinking. [11] Captain Picard's First Officer is Commander William T. Riker (Jonathan Frakes). He is white, all-American and, unlike Picard, aggressive. He is far more willing to take action in moments of conflict without considering the possible outcomes. Nevertheless, he is a very capable officer and considered fully qualified

[10]See chapter five.

[11]In general, Kirk also employs an "alpha" mode of leadership. However, he is at times less consistent/predictable in terms of his actions. At the same time, Kirk and Picard's leadership styles could also be labelled "beta", to the extent that they often must synthesize information in a qualitative manner and/or rely on intuition.

to have a command of his own. The Chief of Security for *Star Trek: The Next Generation*'s first season was Lieutenant Tasha Yar (Denise Crosby). She was a white, humanoid from a highly aggressive and war-like alien planet. She was a very confident and physically capable individual. Yar was killed at the end of the first season. Lieutenant Worf (Michael Dorn), a helmsman during *Star Trek: The Next Generation*'s first season replaced Yar as Chief of Security at the start of its second season. Worf is the first Klingon to ever serve on a Federation ship.

Other characters in *Star Trek: The Next Generation* include: Lt. Data, Counselor Troi, Geordi LaForge, Dr. Beverly Crusher and Wesley Crusher. Lieutenant Commander Data (Brent Spiner) functions as the ship's navigator and science officer. He is unusual insofar as he is the only sentient android known to exist in the *Star Trek* universe. He relishes his contact with humans and tries to be more like them. He is condemned to failure, however, given that he is unable to express or experience feelings. The ship's Counselor is Deanna Troi (Marina Sirtis). She is an alien (half-human, half-betazoid), and possesses empathic abilities. That is, she is able to sense the feelings of those around her. She is particularly useful in first contact situations with alien races. Chief Engineer Geordi LaForge is a black American. He has been blind since birth and wears a specially designed optical visor so that he can "see". The Chief Medical Officer is Dr. Beverly Crusher (Gates McFadden).[12] She is a white American. Her son Wesley Crusher (Wil Wheaton) is also onboard the Enterprise. Wesley is an exceptionally bright teenager and serves as an 'Acting Ensign'.[13] This preceding summary of the *Star Trek* universe sets the stage for an analysis of the television *Star Treks*.

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[12]During *Star Trek: The Next Generation*'s second season, Dr. Crusher was temporarily replaced by Dr. Pulaski (Diana Muldaur). Dr. Pulaski was a white, female, American with a personality not unlike Dr. McCoy of the original series. She was abrupt and serious in her duties and not unwilling to question the actions of the Captain.

[13]Near the conclusion of *Star Trek: The Next Generation's* third season, Wesley Crusher was promoted to full Ensign.

B. The Theme of Intervention in the Original Star Trek

As noted earlier, there exist some fundamental similarities between *Star Trek* and the Western genre. Indeed, Gene Roddenberry expressed in his original proposal for the series that he wished to create a "Wagon Train to the Stars", a space Western (Whitfield and Roddenberry, 1968: 23). Each week the crew of the Starship Enterprise were, in exploring the 'final frontier', to experience various adventures and encounter and engage in battle with an assortment of alien villains. Hence, Wright's structural methods fit the *Star Trek* television series quite neatly. Instead of heroes, we have the crew of the Enterprise; instead of villains, we have alien villains; and, instead of society we have alien societies as well as 23rd and 24th century Earth society. Similarly, the narrative structure of the shows can be broken down into a set of functions. By doing this, similar sets of functions from the old and new series will be placed in an ideal position for comparison.

What follows are brief summaries of four episodes from the original *Star Trek* television series.[14] In total, there were six episodes which followed a general pattern whereby the crew of the Enterprise intervened in the daily lives and activities of an alien society.[15] Using Will Wright's methods, a set of thirteen functions can be extracted from the narrative structure of these 'interventionist' episodes:

(1) The Enterprise arrives at its destination.
(2) The crew of the Enterprise meet an alien society.
(3) The alien society welcomes the Enterprise.
(4) The crew of the Enterprise discover that there is something 'wrong' or 'unnatural' with the alien society.
(5) The crew of the Enterprise discover a 'Villain'.

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[14]Allan Asherman's text, *The Star Trek Compendium* (1986), is the principal source for all episodes of the original series. All dialogue excerpts used in the present thesis were transcribed from on-air broadcasts of live-action episodes.

[15]The six original *Star Trek* episodes which can be termed interventionist are: 'The Apple', 'The Cloud Minders', 'For the World is Hollow and I Have Touched the Sky', 'Return of the Archons', 'A Taste of Armageddon' and 'This Side of Paradise'. The episode 'Errand of Mercy' is a quasi-interventionist episode, but as will be seen later on, is one of the rare examples of a non-interventionist attitude in the original *Star Trek*.

(6) The Villain is the cause of what the Enterprise crew consider wrong or unnatural.
(7) The crew of the Enterprise decide to intervene.
(8) The alien society no longer welcomes the intrusion of the crew of the Enterprise.
(9) A conflict or battle takes place between the villain and the crew of the Enterprise.
(10) The Enterprise crew are stronger and destroy the villain.
(11) The alien society has a renewed trust for the crew of the Enterprise.
(12) The alien society is left to restore order — often with 'guidelines'.
(13) The Enterprise continues on its mission.

As seen above, the crew of the Enterprise usually decide to intervene because they feel something is 'wrong' or 'unnatural' with an alien society. In 'Return of the Archons' (written by Boris Sobelman, story by Gene Roddenberry), Captain Kirk and his crew visit the planet Beta III and discover an alien civilization under the control of a mysterious all-powerful force. This alien force is ultimately revealed to be a massive computer named Landru, programmed centuries ago in the interests of protecting the people from evil. In Kirk's view, this society is stagnating and needs to rule itself.[16] Therefore, he takes it upon himself to talk the computer to the point of self-destruction. There prevails an overwhelming sense in this episode that the only natural evolution for humanoids is one in which exists a capitalistic democracy. Kirk assigns the ship's sociologist to oversee the society's reconstruction and Sociologist Lindstrom's farewell message is a haunting testimony which reinforces the sensation that the American tradition is the ideal way even if it may not always be perfect:

Lindstrom: Just wanted to say goodbye Captain.
Kirk: How's it going?
Lindstrom: Couldn't be better. Already this morning we've had half a dozen domestic quarrels and two genuine knockdown dragouts ... it may not be paradise but it's certainly human.
Kirk: Sounds most promising ... good luck.

[16]Technically, this planet has, following David Rosen's typology (see chapter five), a role-restricted, authoritarian-stratiform society. At the same time, this is akin to fitting a square peg into a round hole. First, there is no societal statification; and, second, there exist no leadership roles whatsoever — all citizens are controlled, and act in the interests of "the body", i.e., the computer. Thus, it is perhaps more appropriate to label the planet Beta III as possessing a "role non-existant, authoritarian-unstratified society"!

In the "Cloud Minders" (written by Margaret Armen; story by David Gerrold and Oliver Crawford), the crew of the Enterprise visit a society where there exists considerable role restriction. In addition, the society is authoritarian and blatantly stratified. The élites live on Stratos, a city which hovers literally among the clouds. On the planet are the Troglytes who mine the surface for rare minerals and ores. They are treated as inferiors and receive none of the luxuries and benefits bestowed upon the cloud dwellers. Captain Kirk's arrival coincides with an uprising between the surface inhabitants and the cloud dwellers. He is inadvertently drawn into the battle and, rather than remain neutral, kidnaps the ruler of the cloud city to prove why the surface dwellers deserve equal rights. This blatant intervention again illustrates Captain Kirk's willingness to disregard the prime directive of non-intervention in the name of American values of freedom and equality.

A third example of intervention in *Star Trek* can be found in "The Apple" (written by Max Ehrlich and Gene Coon). On the planet Gamma Trianguli VI, Captain Kirk, Mr. Spock and Dr. McCoy discover a garden of eden-like environment. The inhabitants are peaceful and childlike. They call themselves the "Feeders of Vaal". Kirk, Spock and McCoy discover that Vaal is a computer which protects its people and, in return, maintains their peaceful environment, provided they sustain it with food offerings. McCoy, in particular, finds this society to be highly distasteful. Spock disagrees and a heated debate ensues:

McCoy: What's going on Jim?
Kirk: Mess call.
Spock: In my view a splendid example of reciprocity.
McCoy: It would take a computerized Vulcan mind such as yours to make that kind of statement.
Spock: Doctor, you insist on applying human standards to non-human cultures. I remind you that humans are only a tiny minority in this galaxy.
McCoy: There are certain absolutes, Mr. Spock, and one of them is the right of humanoids to a free and unchained environment. The right to have conditions which permit growth.
Spock: Another is their right to choose a system which seems to work for them.
McCoy: Jim you're not going to just stand by and be blinded to what's going on here. These are humanoids. Intelligent. They need to advance and grow. Don't you understand what my readings indicate? There's been no progress

or change here in at least ten thousand years. This isn't life. It's stagnation.

Spock: Doctor, these people are healthy, and they are happy. Whatever you choose to call it, this system works despite your emotional reaction to it.

McCoy: It might for you, Mr. Spock, but it doesn't work for me. Humanoids living so they can service a hunk of tin.

Kirk: Gentlemen, I think this philosophical argument can wait until our ship's out of danger.

Ultimately Kirk takes it upon himself to find a way to destroy Vaal. The crew of the Enterprise depart, content (with the possible exception of Spock) that they have restored this society so that its may evolve 'naturally'. Lost in Kirk's self-righteous destruction of Vaal is any consideration of what the people themselves wanted. Once again, it is a thoughtless application of Western ideological belief systems and standards upon a content and innocent society which did not even ask for change in the first place.

So far a fairly grim picture has been painted of intervention in the original *Star Trek* television series. There were no episodes in the original series where the crew of the Enterprise opted for a non-interventionist approach. However, there is one instance where Kirk and his crew attempted to intervene, were thwarted, and conceivably learned a lesson.

In "Errand of Mercy" (written by Gene L. Coon), Kirk and Spock visit the planet Organia. It is strategically located between the Federation and the Klingon Empire. Kirk and Spock fail to impress upon the inhabitants of Organia, the dangers they face should the Klingons take their planet. The Federation offers a peaceful alliance and protection. The Organians refuse, but Kirk is unwilling to take no for an answer. The Klingons, as predicted, arrive and make efforts to take over the planet. As an all-out battle seems inevitable, the Organians choose to reveal their true identities. They are omnipotent light energy beings and prevent hostilities through the neutralization of all weapons. This occurs much to Kirk's chagrin. In a rage he tells the Organian leader: "Even if you have some power that we do not understand, you have no right to dictate to our Federation ... how to handle their interstellar

relations. We have the right" ... [the Organian leader interrupts] ... "to wage war Captain? To kill millions of innocent people? To destroy life on a planetary scale. Is that what you're defending?" It is an instance of revelation and embarassment for Kirk as he realizes that he too had been as eager to wage war as the Klingons. This is a rare moment for the original *Star Trek* series. Intervention is actually shown to be a potentially harmful act. Stressed in "Errand of Mercy" are the benefits of letting matters take their natural course and mediating when absolutely necessary. As will be argued in the next section, it is precisely this latter stance which prevails in *Star Trek: The Next Generation*.

C. The Theme of Non-Intervention in Star Trek: The Next Generation

There are a number of differences immediately apparent with *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. Aesthetically, it is a far cleaner[17] and believable presentation of the future. Television production and technology have made great advances since the 1960s. Whether it makes a better product is another question. In addition, as discussed earlier, there exists a new working environment onboard the Enterprise. It is a far bigger and technologically advanced ship. Whereas the original Enterprise was primarily a military vessel with approximately 430 crew-members, the new Enterprise houses a community of over 1000 people. The crew are now able to travel through space with their families. There appears to have been to some extent a de-militarization of space exploration. Civilians are employed and are seen to interact on a daily basis with the crew of the Enterprise.

The four episodes discussed below will demonstrate the concern the crew of the Enterprise in *Star Trek: The Next Generation* hold for non-intervention and mediation.[18] To

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[17]This is not to imply that the original series was in any sense "dirty". Rather, *Star Trek: The Next Generation's* presentation of the Enterprise is spotless to the extent of being almost antiseptic.

[18]The source for all episodes of *Star Trek: The Next Generation* is J.S. Lyon's *Star Trek: The Next Generation Episode Guides*, (1990).

date, there have been eleven episodes produced which follow this general pattern.[19] There have been no episodes aired where intervention occurs in the same manner as it did in the original series. Again, using Will Wright's methods, the narrative structure of the non-interventionist theme can be reduced to a set of thirteen functions:

(1) The Enterprise arrives at its destination.
(2) The crew of the Enterprise meet one or more aliens.
(3) The crew of the Enterprise welcome or are welcomed by the alien(s).
(4) The alien(s) request(s) assistance from the crew of the Enterprise. OR:
(4a) The crew of the Enterprise requests assistance from the alien(s).
(5) The crew of the Enterprise agree to provide assistance. OR:
(5a) The alien(s) agree to assist the crew of the Enterprise.
(6) An unanticipated conflict between the alien(s) and another group occurs.
(7) The crew of the Enterprise are unwilling to take sides in the dispute.
(8) The crew of the Enterprise agree to mediate, but will not impose their cultural values in doing so.
(9) The dispute is sometimes settled as a result of the Enterprise crew's assistance in mediating.
(10) The previously requested assistance is provided.
(11) The alien(s) is/are grateful for the assistance, and thank the crew of Enterprise. OR:
(11a) The Enterprise crew are grateful for the assistance, and thank the alien(s).
(12) The aliens are left to settle their differences.
(13) The Enterprise continues on its mission.

The "The Vengeance Factor" (written by Sam Rolfe), is a typical illustration of the theme of non-intervention in *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. In this episode, the crew of the Enterprise inadvertently find themselves caught between two feuding clans of the same alien society. The planet Acamar III has had a long history of blood feuds. One group, the Gatherers, split off hundreds of years ago. The Acamarians now want peace with the Gatherers; they have grown weary of their ongoing struggle. Captain Picard is unwilling to take sides on the matter but does agree to mediate if it will help bring the two groups closer

[19]The eleven episodes of *Star Trek: The Next Generation* which have themes of non-intervention are: 'Code of Honor', 'The Enemy', 'The Hunted', 'Justice', 'Loud As A Whisper', 'The Outrageous Okana', 'Pen Pals', 'The Survivors', 'Symbiosis', 'The Vengeance Factor' and 'Who Watches the Watcher'.

together. Mediation talks are held. There is little trust held for Picard, and little optimism for the possibility of a peaceful resolution. Commander Riker suspects that one of the Acamarians is attempting to undermine the negotiations by surreptitiously killing some of the Gatherers, and he reveals this to all. This proves to be the catalyst towards an agreement between the Acamarians and the Gatherers. While their feud is far from settled, the Enterprise crew can be content that they contributed in a small way to a possible resolution of a long-lasting conflict.

A second example of the non-intervention theme is seen in "The Hunted" (written by Robin Berheim). It is a chilling allegory of the treatment Vietnam veterans received in the years following their return to the United States. In this episode, the Enterprise visits the planet Angosia III. The Angosians wish to join the Federation. At the conclusion of their meeting, the crew of the Enterprise are asked for assistance because a dangerous killer has just escaped from their orbiting penal colony. The crew of the Enterprise agree to assist. Upon their apprehension of the escapee, they discover that he is actually a 'supersoldier' - a byproduct of their recent war. Essentially he is a programmed and genetically altered killing machine. The irony is that he and others like him are fully aware of their plight, yet completely incapable of changing the way they behave. It is revealed that all supersoldiers have been imprisoned to protect Angosians. Ultimately the prisoner escapes the Enterprise, frees his fellow prisoners, and plans an assault on the planet below. The Angosians beg for Captain Picard's assistance. However, Picard refuses to take a stance. He beams down into the heart of the conflict and tells them that they are going to have to solve this problem by themselves. He explains: "Your prisoner has been returned to you .. and you have a decision to make, whether to try and force them back or welcome them home. In your own words this is not our affair; we cannot interfere in the natural course of your society's development, and I'd say it's going to develop significantly in the next few minutes ..." Picard and the Enterprise depart.

A third example of non-intervention in *Star Trek: The Next Generation* can be found in "The Outrageous Okana" (written by Les Menachen, Lance Dickson and David Lansburg). In this episode, the Enterprise encounters a crippled starship. The captain, Thaddiun Okana, requests assistance. The crew of the Enterprise are pleased to oblige and welcome him onboard while repairs are being made to his ship. Two ships appear and both request that the Enterprise surrender Okana. Picard is at a loss. He does not wish to intervene, however, there are two separate groups demanding Okana be turned over. As he explains to Okana: "In truth, I simply do not have authority in this matter. I'm not your judge. Nor is it my duty to arbitrate. But you are in my custody and that creates the dilemma". Ultimately, he agrees, albeit reluctantly, to mediate. A peaceable resolution to the conflict is arrived at and the Enterprise leaves.

Finally, in "Who Watches the Watchers" (written by Richard Manning and Hans Beimler), the danger of accidental interference or intervention in an alien society is illustrated. The Enterprise is visiting the planet Mintaka Three where Federation Anthropologists have been secretly studying a primitive alien society behind a holographic force field. The anthropologists have experienced equipment failure and, as a result, an inhabitant sees the interior of their lab. When spotted, he is so startled that he falls and injures himself. Doctor Crusher insists that he be taken to the Enterprise for treatment. Onboard the Enterprise, the Mintakan sees Captain Picard and thinks that he has seen God. Upon his return he relates his divine sight of 'the Picard' to his people. It becomes apparent that a new belief system will evolve if the crew of the Enterprise do not act quickly. They agree that they have already violated their prime directive and, therefore, resort to near desperate measures to prevent the evolution of 'Picard' worship. The leader of the group is bought to the Enterprise. After a considerable effort, Picard succeeds in convincing her that he is only a man, not a god. The Enterprise departs, annoyed that they accidentally intervened, but optimistic insofar as they probably counteracted an unnatural shift in the alien society's belief systems. The preceding

discussion has shown how Wright's structural methods may be applied to the narrative. In the next section, character oppositions will be considered to better understand the structural differences identified.

D. Character Oppositions: Structural Differences in the Television Star Treks

In the original *Star Trek*, most episodes usually focus on the activities of Captain James T. Kirk, First Officer Spock and Dr. Leonard McCoy. Kirk is the most emotionally driven of the three. His strength of command is a particular source of pride. Commanding a Starship is an environment in which he thrives. His word, while often open to debate, is always final. Spock, however, is Kirk's opposite. He is an alien (half-Vulcan, half-human), devoid of most emotions, and Kirk's main source of sober second thought. His thinking is governed by pure logic and scientific reasoning. He looks upon emotions as an inexplicable, wholly unnecessary feature of human behavior. While Spock tries to avoid any form of emotional expression, Dr. McCoy is highly emotional to the point of being irrational. As Donald F. Theall argues, McCoy is "a kind of humanist, who in the absence of religion replaces the sentimental and dedicated padre of the war film" (1980: 249). McCoy is often seen leaning over his Captain's shoulder questioning his every move and command decision.

In contrast, character development differs considerably in *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. There exist no close relationships similar to the Kirk, Spock, McCoy triad. Instead, a general attitude of professional respect and distance prevails when on duty. It is much more of a 'nine-to-five' atmosphere. Once off-duty the crew are often shown interacting and chatting. However, their personal problems are rarely at the grand scale of those which were seen in the original series. There are no galaxies threatened, or lives in danger. Instead, simple problems with simple, often mundane solutions are addressed.

Two central characters in *Star Trek: The Next Generation* are Captain Picard and Commander Riker. Picard's character differs from Captain Kirk's in many respects. He

represents a renewed affirmation for the philosophy of the *Star Trek* universe. He is introspective, thoughtful, well-read, intelligent and above all very cautious. He is fully aware that for every action there is a opposing reaction. The Captain's role has changed since the original *Star Trek*. He is no longer permitted to venture blindly into the dangers of the unknown. This role is reserved for Commander Riker. Riker leads all 'away teams'. Only if a planet is found hospitable, can the Captain join them. For this reason, Riker's role is similar to the one held by Kirk in the original *Star Trek* series. Like Kirk, he is arrogant, confident and often acts before considering the consequences. Unlike Kirk, he has a guardian angel — the everpresent Captain Picard who prevents him from making rash and/or unwise decisions.

Thus, oppositions can, in part, account for the shift from interventionist to non-interventionist themes in the television *Star Treks*. In the original *Star Trek*, Kirk was emotional, impulsive and often imperialistic in his thinking. At the first sign of trouble he was eager to engage in battle. At times he would be questioned by his First Officer or Dr. McCoy, but typically, his decisions would prevail. Spock, in contrast, relied on logic and intellect. If conflict could be averted Spock would take the steps necessary — *if* given the opportunity. In *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, these roles are reversed. The impulsive Riker often wishes to wage war, but his Captain always has a peaceable solution. Captain Picard is thoughtful and deliberate. He relies on his intellect as opposed to force to arrive at a solution in precarious situations.

It appears, then, that the opposing personalities of the *Star Trek* Captains and First Officers have played a part in the thematic shift from intervention to non-intervention. This, however, does not explain why a shift has occurred. Why did Gene Roddenberry opt for a more cerebral and gentle, as opposed to imperialistic, *Star Trek* universe in the his new television series?[20] One possible explanation lies in changes which have taken place in American cultural values and foreign policy since the 1960s.

[20]Gene Roddenberry wrote the writers' guide for both *Star Trek* series.

According to Charles W. Kegley Jr. and Eugene R. Wittkopf (1987), the post-World War II period in America was characterized by a mood of political realism. That is, international relations and American foreign policy in these years were geared toward self-preservation. Political realists view humans to be "by nature sinful and wicked" (Kegley and Wittkopf, 1987: 76). Therefore, international relations were looked upon and treated as a struggle for power. America's intervention in Vietnam as well as its continued arms buildup to match Soviet levels, were prime examples of its struggle for the preservation of American democratic ideals. Thus, 1963-1968 was a period of competitive coexistence for America (1987: 61). Intervention was treated as a necessary reaction to the threat of outside forces which did not fit the mold of democratic capitalism.

Consequently, the presence of the intervention theme in the original *Star Trek* series can be considered symbolic of ongoing societal conflicts of the post World War II period. That is, the solutions offered to problems encountered by the crew of the Enterprise were appropriate in light of America's diplomatic strategy of confrontation as opposed to mediation. Indeed, one must not forget that commercial television has to relate to a broad audience and, in turn, respond to shifts in public values. As discussed earlier, producers are bound by particular regimes of production. This is not to suggest a determinstic relation between the dominant ideological schema of the 1960s and *Star Trek*. On the contrary, following the tenets of genetic structuralism, one can argue that the shift from the theme of intervention to non-intervention in the television *Star Treks* may relate "to actual historical transitions, of a general kind, [although] ... these relations are purely formal (they are not, in any sense, correspondences of content)" (R. Williams, 1986: 144).

Following the United States' withdrawal from Vietnam in the 1970s there were some shifts in political thinking. There was a move away from the political realism of the 1950s and 1960s to one of moral idealism in which "human beings are assumed to be essentially 'good' and capable of altruism and cooperation" (1987: 73). In particular, the United States became

more cautious. However, the Reagan administration of the 1980s in many ways "sought to demonstrate that the 'Vietnam syndrome' had been cast aside — that the United States had lost its aversion to military and other forms of intervention in the wake of the Southeast Asian tragedy" (1987: 586). Indeed, America's actions in Grenada in 1983, Libya in 1986 and Panama in 1989 are three examples of intervention in the 1980s. Nevertheless, despite these instances of intervention it has been argued that "the American culture [in the 1960s] underwent a substantial shift in emphasis as the nation wrestled with its commitment to emphasize ... idealistic values" (Kegley and Wittkopf, 1987: 260). Therefore, it appears that *Star Trek: The Next Generation* rejects the ongoing American foreign policy of 'intervention when necessary'. Instead, it express a greater interest in the more prominent, yet less frequently exercised, ideological schema of cooperation and non-intervention. This makes *Star Trek: The Next Generation* a powerful source of social commentary. It offers peaceful, as opposed to violent, solutions to contemporary conflicts.[21]

[21]In a more in-depth analysis, it would be useful to consider why the Western genre subsided in popularity in the 1980s. Is it possible that there cannot be a non-interventionist cowboy?

IV. Supplementing Structural Methods with Social Semiotics

Will Wright notes that very few truly analytic studies have been made of the Western. The same can be said of previous analyses of *Star Trek*. Those which have be done on gender representation and gender stereotyping (A. Cranny-Francis, 1985; K. Blair, 1983) suffer mainly from being purely descriptive without any sound methodological roots. One exception is Mary-Jo Deegan's efforts at a "A Feminist Frame Analysis of *Star Trek*" (1983). This analysis uses Goffman's frame analysis techniques on an episode from the original *Star Trek* series. While Deegan's efforts are certainly more ambitious than most other studies of *Star Trek*, she makes a fundamental error by using the dialogue from the novelized version of the series, which differs considerably from the original script. As Wm. Blake Tyrell explains, using dialogue from the episodes is essential as the novels take "too many liberties with the scripts for [the] adaptations to be useful for the study of *Star Trek*" (1977: 719). This rejection of the novelized versions is not necessarily suggesting their irrelevance for analysis. However, as Wright explains in his analysis of the Western, "although Western novels reach a large and faithful audience, it is through the movies that the myth has become part of the cultural language which America understands" (1975: 12). Thus, an analysis of the *Star Trek* 'myth' must necessarily take on these restrictions to be methodologically sound.

A. A Structural Analysis of Gender Representation in Star Trek

The following analysis will evaluate "Space Seed" from the original *Star Trek* series and "The Price" from *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. It will differ from Will Wright's methods in two respects. First, the sets of functions will apply only to the episodes being analyzed. This is not a denial of the existence of episodes with similar narrative structures in either series. On the contrary, while similar sets of functions may be present in other episodes, they are not necessary for the purposes of this discussion. Second, beyond an application of Wright's methods, Hodge and Kress' social semiotic methods will be employed

as an alternate means for examining the differences between the two episodes being studied.

"Space Seed"

"Space Seed" (written by Gene L. Coon, Carey Wilbur; story by Carey Wilbur) was first broadcast February 16, 1967 near the end of *Star Trek*'s first season. The show opens with the Starship Enterprise encountering a ship drifting in space. Closer sensor scans detect signs of life. Captain Kirk sends a landing party to more closely evaluate the situation. Upon their arrival, the landing party discover that they have boarded a 'sleeper ship'. All of its crew are in suspended animation. One of the life-support canisters activates itself automatically as a result of their arrival and the man inside, Khan Noonian Singh (Ricardo Montalban), is revived. The Enterprise historian, Lt. Marla McGivers (Madlyn Rhue) is immediately attracted to Khan. Khan is taken back to the Enterprise to recover from his long sleep. He and his crew are from the 1990s, and have been in suspended animation for over 200 years. They are all genetically altered and possess superhuman strength and intellect. It is later revealed that Khan and his people fled the Earth at the end of World War III, the 'Eugenics War' when attempts to create a race of superpeople who would rule the world failed. Lt. McGivers' attraction to Khan results in her assisting him in escaping from the Enterprise to revive the rest of his crew. Having been given access to the ship's libraries during his convalescence, Khan now has the knowledge required to take over the Enterprise. He returns to the Enterprise and takes control of the engineering deck. From there, he knocks out the crew by releasing gas into all decks but his. Later, when the crew recover, Lt. McGivers regrets having assisted Khan in his takeover bid and frees Captain Kirk before he is killed. This leads to Khan's capture. In closing, a hearing is held. All charges against Khan are dropped provided he accepts Captain Kirk's offer of exile to an uninhabited planet. Lt. McGivers, given the choice of facing a court martial or going with Khan, chooses the latter. The Enterprise departs.

Having summarized "Space Seed", it is now possible to extract a set of functions which represent this episode.

(1) The crew of the Enterprise encounter a ship drifting in space.
(2) The crew of the Enterprise revive a man named Khan.
(3) The crew of the Enterprise are undecided as to whether they should trust Khan.
(4) A female crew member, Lt. Marla McGivers, is attracted to Khan.
(5) Khan seduces Lt. McGivers.
(6) Khan is revealed to be a villain.
(7) Khan decides to take over the Enterprise.
(8) Lt. McGivers betrays her loyalties to the Enterprise and assists Khan.
(9) Lt. McGivers regrets her actions and assists the crew of the Enterprise.
(10) Khan fails in his takeover bid.
(11) Khan is punished for his actions by the crew of the Enterprise.
(12) Lt. McGivers, rather than face formal punishment, leaves with Khan.
(13) The Enterprise departs.

These 13 functions describe the narrative structure of 'Space Seed'. According to Wright, a narrative structure "presents a dramatic model of communication and action between characters who represent different types of people inherent in our conceptualization of society" (1975: 49). Next, an examination of the oppositional structures presented in "Space Seed" will be undertaken to further clarify the oppositional relationships of the character sets. The inside/outside, good/bad, strong/weak and civilization/wilderness oppositions will be considered.

The Inside/Outside Opposition

To illustrate oppositions it is necessary to reveal how they are conveyed both visually and through dialogue. This analysis will focus primarily on the Khan/McGivers relationship to uncover gender representations. The show begins with the discovery of Khan's ship. His ship is a mystery to Captain Kirk; he refers to it as a "strange vessel". Later, when it is revealed that Khan is from the twentieth century, he is treated with caution, but is allowed access to the ship's libraries. Kirk does not hesitate in granting this request. He says: "I

understand, you have 200 years of catching up to do". This indicates a willingness to accept Khan into 23rd century society. In contrast, Khan is elusive when asked questions. When Kirk asks Khan his name, he refuses and says "I have a few questions first". He is reluctant to say anything at all; every word is deliberately chosen to gain an edge over Kirk. Of his name, he only says "Khan is my name". Kirk's natural response is "Khan, nothing else?", to which Khan replies "Khan". Hence, from the outset, Kirk is more than willing to welcome Khan into 23rd century society. Khan, however, prefers to remain outside.

Khan's clothing is another level at which the inside/outside opposition may be coded. When he is found, he is dressed in his own twentieth century clothing. Upon his transfer to the Enterprise he is given hospital greens. This matches the willingness of the Enterprise to accept him into their society. Later, at a reception, he is dressed in a blazer, presumably one of his own. This corresponds to his unwillingness to enter society. However, shortly after he is dressed in an Enterprise uniform which symbolically suggests a willingness to be a part of 23rd century society. This turns out to be a ruse; upon his escape to his own ship, he has changed once again into his own clothing. Thus, Khan is unquestionably outside society and unwilling to be a member of it. Khan's reluctance to be a part of 23rd century Earth society is understandable. Earth society rejected him in the 1990s, and forced him to flee; hence, he has little reason to wish to be member of Earth society in any century.

Lt. Marla McGivers, as a crew member onboard the Enterprise, is certainly inside society at the outset. She teeters on the fringe, however, with her willingness to betray her ship. By helping Khan, she becomes an outsider. This is symbolically portrayed by the changes in her hair style. When Khan first meets Lt. McGivers he asks her why she wears her hair the way she does. She resists his attempts to let it down around her neck, but later does let it down. This changing of hairstyle marks the beginning of her betrayal of her own society. Even after she regrets her actions, she is not shown with her hair as it was at the outset. By having rejected her own society she is no longer welcome onboard the Enterprise or by her

society. To rejoin, she would have to suffer the indignities of a court martial.

The Good/Bad Opposition

The good/bad opposition does not by default have to operate in conjunction with the inside/outside opposition. It is made clear early on that Khan is probably not benevolent. When he first awakens onboard the Enterprise, he takes a knife to Dr. McCoy's throat. Later, his plans to take the Enterprise make it clear that he is not 'good'. However, one does not necessarily have to be 'bad' simply because one is outside society. McGivers agrees to assist Khan in his takeover bid not because she is inherently evil, but because she is coerced. She allows her feelings for Khan to get in the way of her loyalties for the Enterprise. Overall, she is depicted as a helpless creature. Even when Khan strikes her to the ground after he expresses his intent to take over the Enterprise, she still wishes to be with him. She is held hostage by her emotions. Hence, while she ultimately chooses to remain outside society at the end, she is not inherently a bad person, but weak. The strong/weak opposition will be considered in the next section.

The Strong/Weak Opposition

The third opposition of strength and weakness most clearly identifies the contrast between Khan and Lt. McGivers. Khan is a man of great strength; genetically engineered strength. His strength is not only greater than that of Lt. McGivers, but greater than all others onboard the Enterprise. When Kirk defeats him in physical combat, it is not a physical blow, but a club which renders him unconscious. Lt. McGivers, in contrast, is depicted as a fragile individual both in character and in strength. Khan manipulates her easily; he realizes early on that part of her fascination for him is the fact that he is a man of the past. McGivers is an historian; it is her job to study ancient worlds and civilizations. Khan uses this knowledge to lead her blindly down the path of her own self-destruction; to the point where

she is cast out of her own society. It is remarkable that even after Khan has destroyed all that she has achieved in her life, she still chooses to go with him as his wife.

The Civilization/Wilderness Opposition

Wright notes that the civilization/wilderness distinction weakens in the Western film from the classical plots first seen of the 1930s to the professional plot in the 1970s. In contrast, this opposition is a cornerstone of the entire *Star Trek* 'myth'. Accompanying the opening credits of each episode is Captain Kirk's now-familiar description of his crew's mission: "Space .... the final frontier. These are the voyages of the starship Enterprise. Its five-year mission: to explore strange new worlds, to seek out new life forms and new civilizations — to boldly go where no man has gone before.....". Clearly, then, the Enterprise and its crew symbolize a small oasis of civilization travelling through the vast untamed wilderness of outer space. They are in some respects 'noble savages' seeking untamed worlds. Gaile McGregor in *The Noble Savage in the New World Garden* argues that a common assumption of the countless literary depictions of the noble savage is "that primitive cultures provide a viable or at least *instructive* alternative to civilized existence" (1988: 12). Thus, implicit in their assigned task of seeking out "new life forms and new civilizations", is the utopian vision of a better life which conceivably could exist 'out there' on some alien planet somewhere in the deepest darkest recesses of the galaxy or universe.

In "Space Seed", the civilization/wilderness distinction, while somewhat weaker than other *Star Trek* episodes, is by no means absent. Khan too can be seen as a noble savage. He tells Kirk that "there was little else left on Earth"; he and his people were seeking a new life and a chance to build a new world. They were forced to flee into the wilderness of space when they were rejected by their own world. There is an underlying primitivism and criminal madness in his desires. At one point when he has control of the Enterprise he tells his captives that he needs their vessel to "select a colony planet — one with a population willing to be

led". When he is finally captured and 'brought to justice', Kirk exiles him to an uninhabited planet and challenges him to "tame a world" in the same manner that the Botany Bay colony was able to tame Australia hundreds of years ago. Consequently, Khan can be labeled outside civilization given that he has completely rejected it twice: the first time when he and his people fled Earth, and the second time when he and his people took control of the Enterprise. In contrast, McGivers can be considered part of civilization up to the point at which she decides to leave with Khan. Thereafter, she is outside civilization.

The four oppositions of inside/outside society, good/bad, strong/weak and civilization/wilderness suggest a general theme of dominant male/submissive female in "Space Seed". As a result of Lt. McGivers' compliance to Khan's every wish, she is forced to suffer the consequences: the loss of her career for a man. In contrast, a theme of dominant male/resistant female will be seen in the next section with the application of these four oppositions to 'The Price' an episode of *Star Trek: The Next Generation*.

B. A Structural Analysis of Gender Representation in Star Trek: The Next Generation

What follows is a summary of "The Price", an episode of *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. In addition, an evaluation of its narrative structure, as well as a discussion of its oppositional coding will be undertaken. One limitation of this comparison should be noted. Lt. McGivers was not a series regular on *Star Trek*. *Star Trek* often has 'disposable characters': people who are either killed or cast aside in some manner. In contrast, Deanna Troi, around whom the story focusses in "The Price", is a regular member of the cast. She is the ship's counselor and assumes an important position as Captain Picard's advisor in matters of conflict and negotiation. This does not necessarily invalidate a comparison simply because Lt. McGivers was 'disposable'. The fact remains that both episodes present women in positions where they have to choose between their loyalties to their ship or to their 'man' and opposing outcomes are the result.

"The Price"

"The Price" (written by David Kemper and Michael Piller) was first aired in November 1989, midway through *Star Trek: The Next Generation*'s third season. The Enterprise is hosting negotiations for the rights to a 'wormhole'. This wormhole belongs to the planet Barzan II and would allow space travel between very distant solar systems. Four groups are bidding for the rights to this 'natural resource'. The ship's counselor Deanna Troi meets one of the negotiators, Devinoni Ral (Matt McCoy), at a reception and is immediately attracted to him. Ral is also immediately attracted to Troi and later visits her in her quarters to ask her out for dinner. A passionate love affair develops. Ral later reveals to Troi a unique ability which gives him an edge over others at the negotiating table. He is one quarter 'Betazoid', Betazoids possess empathic abilities and are able to sense how others are feeling. He uses this to his advantage in tense moments of negotiation. Troi, who is one-half Betazoid, is shocked by this revelation. She does not conceal from others the fact that she is an empath and reprimands him for his secrecy. However, she chooses not to reveal his secret as it could jeopardize his chances of winning the rights to the wormhole. As the negotiations proceed, Ral takes advantage of his empathic ability to encourage one of the negotiators to drop out. Later, he forms a secret alliance with the Ferengi, one of the other parties bidding for the wormhole. This culminates in a conflict staged by Ral between the Enterprise (Federation representatives) and the Ferengi, to prove that the Federation is an unworthy and warlike group. As a result, Ral and the planet he represents wins the rights to the wormhole. Troi at this point can no longer tolerate Ral's deceit, and reveals his secret to all. Ironically, the wormhole proves to be unstable, and hence, a useless prize. Before leaving, Ral asks Troi to join him and help him by being his 'conscience'. She rejects him as she has no desire to be a counselor to her lover. The Enterprise departs.

Again, it is again possible to construct a set of functions which summarize the narrative structure of "The Price", in the same manner "Space Seed" was condensed.

(1) The Enterprise is serving as host for the negotiation of the rights to a natural resource.
(2) The ship's counselor, Deanna Troi, is attracted to one of the alien negotiators, Devinoni Ral.
(3) Devinoni Ral is also attracted to Troi.
(4) A passionate love affair between Troi and Ral develops.
(5) It is revealed that Ral has empathic powers similar to Troi's.
(6) Troi does not tell others of Ral's ability.
(7) Ral uses his powers to manipulate the negotiations.
(8) As a result of his empathic abilities, Ral wins the rights to the natural resource.
(9) Troi regrets keeping Ral's secret and reveals it to all.
(10) Before leaving Ral asks Troi to join him.
(11) Troi rejects Ral.
(12) Ral leaves the Enterprise alone.
(13) The Enterprise departs.

Hence, "The Price" presents a woman who rejects the man she loves, in favor of her loyalties to her ship. Unlike "Space Seed's" dominant male/submissive female theme, this story depicts a dominant male and a resistant female. However, aside from its conclusion, "The Price" follows "Space Seed's" narrative structure: (1) Woman meets Man; (2) Man seduces Woman; (3) Woman betrays her loyalties to her ship for her Man; and (4) Woman regrets the betrayal of her ship for her Man. Where it diverges, however, is in its outcome: (5a) Woman and Man leave together, in "Space Seed" and (5b) Woman rejects Man and he leaves alone, in "The Price". According to Wright, when stories differ only in their last function "it may indicate a changing social order ... [since] in each case the narrative structure changes to portray a different model of interaction ... and these changes can be seen to correspond to changes in social institutions and attitudes" (1975: 27). That is, in the same manner that a structural shift from intervention to non-intervention was identified in chapter three, the differing structures in "Space Seed" and "The Price" may also be evidence for the genesis of a new type of structure or code. Television has to adapt to its audiences, hence, the genesis of new structural codes is, to an extent, inevitable as dominant ideological schema emerge or evolve. Next, oppositions in "The Price" will be examined, to see how they differ from the

dominant male/submissive female theme.

The Inside/Outside Opposition

Devinoni Ral was born on Earth; however, he has chosen a life as negotiator for various planets. He does not feel part of Earth society as a result of his empathic abilities. He tells Troi that he left Earth because he "was never as comfortable sensing emotions as [she] seem[s] to be". Ral could not live within the society in which he was raised as he felt too much like an outsider. Hence, Ral can easily be classified as outside society. He further perpetuates this outside status by his abrasive nature around others. In a conversation with Commander William Riker, a close friend of Troi's, he teases him by saying "Troi could have been yours Will, but you just didn't do enough to keep her and now ... well ... I'm here, and I'm going to take her too...". An exchange such as this further alienates Ral, thus reinforcing his position as an individual outside society.

In contrast, Counselor Troi is firmly within society. As a crewmember onboard the Enterprise she serves a crucial role. She too has at times found her empathic abilities a burden, however, she has learned to live with them. Ral, in his first efforts at seducing Troi, does precisely what Khan did with Lt. McGivers: he attempts to unfasten Troi's hair. When they meet for dinner Troi has changed her hairstyle to please Ral. However, in the final scene, Troi's hair is once again tied behind her head, as it was at the outset. Symbolically this marks her rejection of Ral. Earlier, Ral had expressed his wish that she run away with him. By revealing his secret to all, she is rejecting his offer to enter his life outside society. She knows where her loyalties lie and will not let herself betray the Enterprise in the same manner Lt. McGivers betrayed the Enterprise in "Space Seed".

The Good/Bad Opposition

The good/bad opposition in "The Price" differs insofar as Ral's 'bad' nature is not revealed to all until the final scene. He is conceited, sly and deceitful. In contrast, Khan was blatantly malevolent, chauvinistic and egotistical. Most of all, Ral has lost sight of his values. He is so consumed by his desire to win, that he has become more evil than even he realizes. Hence, it would not be incorrect to label Ral as 'bad'; however, he is by no means cast from the same mold as Khan.

Troi can more easily be termed a 'good' character. She allows herself to be swept away for a brief period by Ral's charm, but at the crucial instance where matters get out of hand, she is able to penetrate his curtain of deceit and turn him in. For this reason there is no need for Captain Picard to reprimand Troi for her actions, as she resolves her conflict of interest by placing her loyalties to the Enterprise over her feelings for Ral; something Lt. McGivers was incapable of doing in "Space Seed".

The Strong/Weak Opposition

The strength/weakness opposition reveals the greatest difference between the characters sets presented in "Space Seed" and 'The Price'. In turn, it accounts for the divergent endings seen in the two episodes. While on the surface, Ral must appear strong if he is to be a successful negotiator, he is in fact a highly insecure individual. This is best demonstrated in his last conversation with Troi: "I'm very grateful for what you did in a way, it's made me take a hard look at who I am ... I don't like what I see ... I once asked you to run away with me and now I'm asking you again ... I need you, you could help me change, you could be my conscience" (kisses Troi), Troi's response: "I already have a job as counselor" (Ral leaves in silence). Thus, Ral's strength is only a surface gloss; inside he is frail and insecure and, as a result, weak. In contrast, Khan was strong both physically and intellectually; this allowed him to easily dominate someone as feeble as Lt. McGivers.

For Counselor Troi, strength is a source of pride. Initially she expresses a concern to the ship's doctor that she might be losing control in her relationship with Ral. However, by first revealing Ral's secret, and then rejecting him, she re-establishes any strength that she might have lost through her romantic involvement with him. Thus, Troi is both 'strong' and 'good' and capable of choosing whether she wishes to remain inside society. Lt. McGivers, as a result of her weaknesses, loses her freedom to choose between being inside or outside society and, as a result, can only be labeled 'weak', and outside society by her actions in "Space Seed".

The Civilization/Wilderness Opposition

In *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, viewers are still greeted by the familiar 'final frontier' address in the opening credits. The narrator in this virtually unaltered version is Captain Picard. There is, however, one word of crucial significance which has been changed since the 1960s. It is no longer "to boldly go where no *man* has gone before", but instead, "to boldly go where no *one* has gone before". Thus, in the strictest sense, women have now been acknowledged and granted equal billing alongside men as participants in the Enterprise's ongoing adventures into the wilderness of outer space.

In "The Price" Devinoni Ral is essentially a 'hired gun'. He has chosen to wander the wilderness of space as a professional negotiator. Will Wright describes the distinction between the inside/outside opposition and the civilization/wilderness distinction as follows: "the difference ... will become clear if by society we mean having roots, an occupation, and responsibilities, while by civilization we mean a concern with the money, tools, and products of American culture" (1975: 57). It was established earlier that Ral is outside society because he has no real roots and has willingly chosen a life 'outside'. In contrast, because he is actively employed and earns a living through his activities as a negotiator, he does fit Wright's definition of being inside civilization. Conceptually then, there exists little difference between

Troi and Ral for this opposition. Troi is quite clearly part of her civilization as ship's counselor and, as established earlier, part of society as a crewmember onboard the Enterprise.

C. Social Semiotics and Star Trek

To this point, only Will Wright's structural methods have been applied to the analysis of the television *Star Trek*s. A further means of studying "Space Seed" and "The Price" can be arrived at using Hodge and Kress' social semiotics. It should be noted, however, that there are some limitations to the meanings derived from a social semiotic analysis, but these should not dissuade one from attempting such an analysis. Indeed, as Hodge and Kress explain, the meanings they derive are "complex and specific to the text .... They are guesses, not facts ... but this is by no means a reason why semioticians should avoid attempting it" (1988: 168).

A second limitation of Hodge and Kress' approach is its lack of unity. That is, with each chapter, yet another method for analysis is offered. Unfortunately no effort is made to merge the different types of analyses presented. Consequently, it would be an endless task to attempt a full social semiotic analysis of gender representations in *Star Trek*. Therefore, two techniques have been selected to demonstrate the social semiotic approach. The rationale for their selection is outlined below.

Two distinct themes have been isolated using Will Wright's formalist structural methods: Dominant Male/Submissive Female in "Space Seed"; and, Dominant Male/Resistant Female in "The Price". However, how these themes have been presented at both non-verbal and verbal levels has not been considered in any great depth. Consequently, the following social semiotic analysis will first examine the point of view used in each episode in an effort to reveal how the abovementioned themes have been conveyed non-verbally. Following this discussion, the structure and sequencing of verbal exchanges of a short passage taken from each episode will be evaluated. These two social semiotic analyses will reveal two structures: (1) A Seduction Structure; and (2) A Professional Structure. Although present in both shows,

these structures are unable to co-exist. Thus, it will be argued that the sets of functions derived using Wright's methods differ in their final function as a result of the 'Seduction Structure' which dominates in "Space Seed"; and, the Professional Structure which dominates in "The Price".

The Point of View

The manner in which a television show is staged and filmed is a deliberate act. The positioning of the viewer in relation to the characters in the show, as well as the proximity of the characters in relation to each other, is crucial for an interpretation of meanings. The piecing together of the various film clips which make up the final product is a syntagm which unfolds over the course of each episode of *Star Trek*. As discussed earlier, the act of viewing an episode after it has been pieced together, operates from the diachronic dimension. Thus, in social semiotics, the synchonic and diachronic levels are merged together as one in what Hodge and Kress term, 'a single unitary field' (1988; 163). It is this unitary field which allows one to examine the stages through which an episode passes in the production process to its final form as a 45-50 minute television show.

In "Space Seed", the close-up shots of Khan and Lt. McGivers differ from all other characters. In the scene where Khan holds a knife to Doctor McCoy's throat, Khan's face is shown so that it takes up the entire screen. By being presented in this manner, he takes on larger than life dimensions. This is further reinforced by cutting back to Doctor McCoy's face which takes up no more than half the screen. Moreover, the point of view when McCoy is shown is from a slightly lower angle, thus giving the viewer a somewhat similar view to the one Khan would be seeing. This, in turn, transfers an element of power into the hands of the viewer. That is, it allows Khan's power and strength to be conveyed, despite the fact it is a subordinate camera angle. Hence, the semiosic transaction is one of power and fright for the viewer. Power, because the scene dramatically conveys Khan's might; and fright, because it is

Doctor McCoy, a man who saves lives, against whom the viewers are symbolically holding a knife. Thus, the viewers are for a brief instance cast into a position of dissonance where they symbolically could take the life of a man whose sole vocation is the of saving lives.

The lighting under which Lt. McGivers is placed differs when she converses with Khan. He is always shown so that his face is fully lit. In contrast, Lt. McGivers is often shown in shadows with lighting apparently from above. In addition, the film has a slightly hazier quality. It gives her a very feminine, almost childlike, air. Rapid cuts between her facial features and those of Khan's serve to further reinforce the differences between them. She signifies beauty, innocence and submission, while Khan transmits dominance and control. Later, when Khan asks Lt. McGivers to join him in his takeover bid, he squeezes her hand so tightly that she is forced to kneel at his feet. The camera angle is slightly above and to the rear of Khan, in such a manner that the viewer can feel the full might, dominance and strength as Khan would feel it himself.

The semiosic transaction between viewer and the screen differs in "The Price". Most telling is an intimate conversation between Troi and Ral. To this point the viewer knows little about Ral except that he has succeeded in winning Troi's affection. Initially Ral's face is cast in shadows as he converses in bed with Troi. He is a man of mystery to the viewer and Troi. She says to him while still lying on her back "Who are you Devinoni Ral?". At first he eludes the question; however, by sitting upright on top of his chest Troi places herself in a position of dominance. It is only at this point that Ral admits that he possesses empathic abilities. Troi's face is well lit but presented from below to further stress her position of dominance and control to the viewer. In addition, Ral is no longer fully cast in shadows given that he has revealed his secret.

The preceding discussion illustrates how the point of view affects the negotiations which take place between the viewer and the text as it unfolds onscreen. Meaning can be conveyed by a variety of cinematic techniques as well as non-verbal actions such as the

positioning of characters within the frame. Taken alone, the differences between "The Price" and "Space Seed" are notable. Their significance, however, will be best understood once another social semiotic technique is demonstrated in the forthcoming section.

Structural Transformations in Star Trek

According to Hodge and Kress, acts of semiosis take place in time. That is, "the flow of semiosis can be understood as itself a series of transformations" (1988: 168). A transformation is the structural change of a text from one structure to another. As structures change within the text, the meanings and messages conveyed undergo equivalent changes. The most appropriate means of evaluating structural transformations in *Star Trek* is through dialogic exchanges. Presented below is a short sequence of dialogue taken from "Space Seed". It is the first verbal exchange between Lt. McGivers and Khan.

McGivers: (Lt. McGivers enters the sickbay and approaches Khan who is lying down) .... Ship's historian Lt. Marl McGi..... (Khan interrupts)
Khan: Marla McGivers.
McGivers: Yes.
Khan: I am told that you participated in my rebirth.
McGivers: In a small way.
Khan: I have been reading up on starships, but they have one luxury not mentioned in the manuals.
McGivers: I don't understand.
Khan: A beautiful woman ... My name is Khan ... please sit and entertain me.
McGivers: Ummm... I'd like some historical information about your ship .. it .. its purpose and...(Khan interrupts)
Khan: And why do you wear your hair in such an uncomplementary fashion?
McGivers: It's comfortable.
Khan: But it's not attractive ... (Khan gets up and attempts to unfasten her hair, then leads her to a mirror) ... There ... soft ... natural ... simple ...
McGivers: Mr. Khan I'm here on business.
Khan: You find no pleasure here?
McGivers: My interest is scientific ... men of ... that is, the world of the past. I'm sure you understand to actually talk to a man of your century ...
Khan: There ... simple ... soft ... please remember...
McGivers: Perhaps some other time, when you feel more like talking about the past ... (McGivers starts to leave)
Khan: (Khan grabs McGivers arm) I'm glad you came .... please do it again ...

Hodge and Kress explain that in order to understand a passage such as this in social semiotic terms, one must ask the following question: "Why do the individual utterances follow in the order they do?" (1988: 164). Lt. McGivers speaks first. She can be labelled as the initiator of 'Structure A': the professional structure. The message she is attempting to relate is her profession and her reasons for visiting Khan. Khan interrupts even before she has the opportunity to state her name in full. He has no interest in the elements of the structure from which she is operating. Instead, he attempts to transform the semiotic structure into his own 'Structure B': a seduction structure. This is presented below in an adaption of Hodge and Kress' own depiction of semiosic structures.

(Insert figure one about here)

The transformative process is a difficult one for Khan; however, he persists and ultimately eradicates Structure A. Lt. McGivers continues in vain to re-establish the professional structure with statements such as: "My interests are scientific", but fails. Finally, rather than give in to Khan's seduction structure, she postpones/abandons her professional structure by stating, "perhaps some other time, when you feel more like talking about the past".

Hence, the structural transformation in this exchange is a complex process. Khan initiates Structure B before Lt. McGivers even has the opportunity to fully express the reasons for her visit. Lt. McGivers, in contrast, fails to maintain control of the exchange despite three attempts at re-establishing Structure A. Khan's responses are not as Lt. McGivers had anticipated. He succeeds in manipulating the semiosic structure of their conversation through his introduction of a structure which operates in direct opposition to her professional interests, yet in line with her personal feelings. Therefore, Lt. McGivers has both paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations pulling her in separate directions. Her solution to this conflict between Structure A and B is escape; both structures cannot operate simultaneously.

It is only later when she comes to terms with her conflict, that she succumbs to Khan's Structure B.

Similar oppositional transformative structures can be found in "The Price". Presented below is the first private conversation between Counselor Troi and Devinoni Ral.

Ral: (Ral buzzes at Troi's door then enters) Should I call for an appointment?
Troi: No (Laughing) ... I was just looking over some personnel files.
Ral: Well that's too bad. Thought you might be thinking about me...
Troi: I thought you'd be deep in negotiations by now ...
Ral: In recess, I never play the opening rounds anyway ... Inconsequential ... Besides there are much better things to negotiate on this ship ... like dinner tonight?
Troi: What about your travelling companion?
Ral: My travelling companion ... travelling. I sent her home.
Troi: Why?
Ral: You know why.
Troi: Weren't you getting along?
Ral: Don't do that.
Troi: What?
Ral: Don't do ... Counselor Troi.
Troi: Was I?
Ral: Yes, you were ... (Ral moves behind her, Troi is seated) When you leave this office, who are you? ... Ohhh, so that's it ... You never do ... You never do leave the office (Ral unfastens Troi's hair)
Troi: Wou... (Ral interrupts)
Ral: Shh Shh Shh Shh ... Dinner at eight?.... (Ral leaves)

This exchange differs from the Khan/McGivers conversation insofar as it is Ral who initiates it. Like Khan, his interests are personal not professional. By saying "should I call for an appointment" he is almost mocking Troi's position as counselor. Troi, in contrast, attempts to maintain a distance by resisting his overtures with statements such as, "I thought you'd be deep in negotiations by now". Hence, the structural sequencing is reversed in this instance. The seduction structure, Structure A, is initiated first by Ral; and then, the professional structure, Structure B, is introduced by Troi. These structures are presented below in figure 2.

(Insert figure two about here)

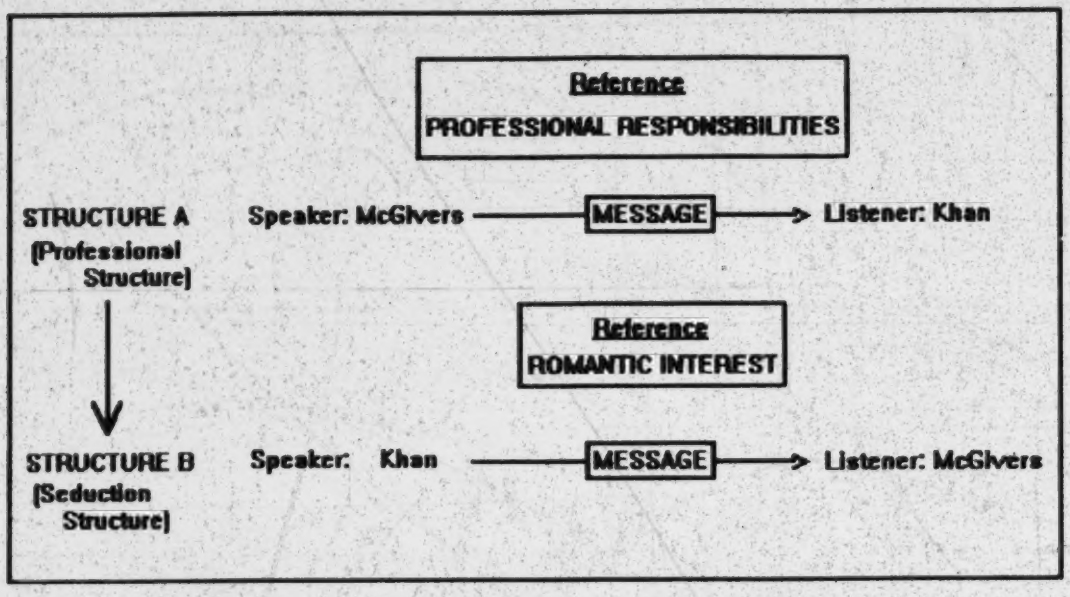

FIGURE 1: A Semiosic Structural Transformation in "Space Seed".

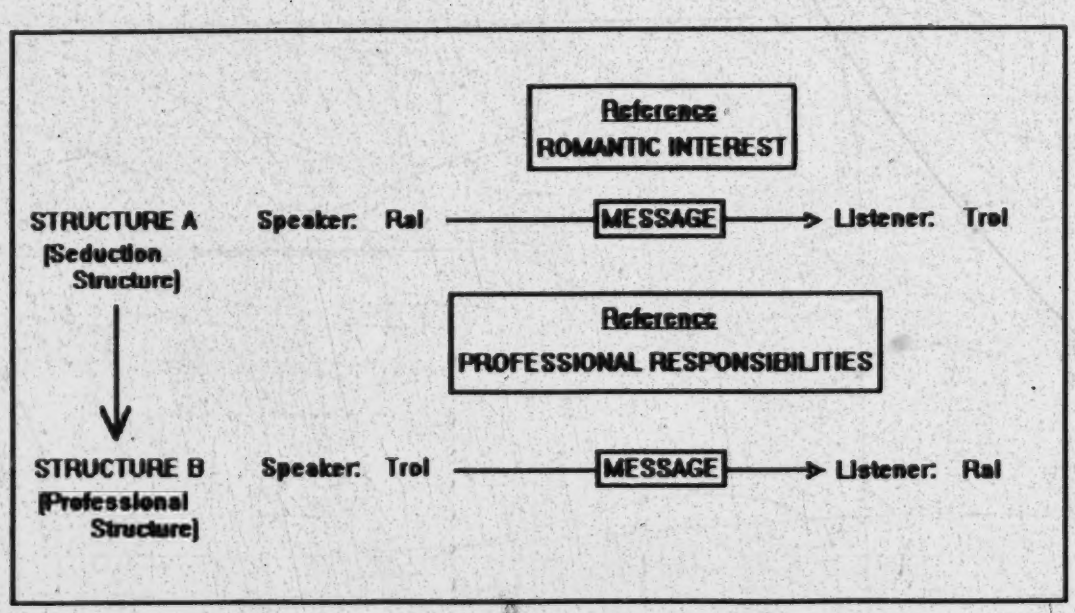

FIGURE 2: A Semiosic Structural Transformation in "The Price".

Although Ral's manipulation of the conversation is directed towards the same end as was Khan's, it differs in one crucial aspect. Ral manipulates psychologically. He asks her not to play the role of counselor; to let her hair down; to leave the office. In contrast, Khan's manipulation is one of brute force. He considers himself to be a superior being; god-like. It is an order not a request when he asks Lt. McGivers to "sit and entertain". She is an object for his amusement, not a person. When she attempts to leave, he is rough and grabs her arm forcefully.

The implications of the differing narrative structures which dominate in the old and new *Star Trek* are notable. "Space Seed" suggests that women can be won through aggression and physical intimidation. In contrast, "The Price" casts male/female relationships in a different light; women are objects whose hearts might be won, not through physical, but psychological control. Thus, a social semiotic analysis of the narrative and semiosic structure of Star Trek has revealed differing techniques to achieve the same end: the affection of a women. It has also, however, shown a woman in the new *Star Trek* with inner strength; one who is able to choose with confidence between her professional responsibilities and a romantic relationship.

How then, can one best account for the structural differences in the old and new television *Star Treks* that have been revealed in the preceding analysis? Has a new ideological schema emerged and, in turn, had an influence upon productions regimes? While it is possible to speculate, it is still premature to suggest that there has been a dramatic shift in the depiction of women on television since the 1960s. The next chapter combines quantitative and qualitative methods in an effort to answer the above question. Following this analysis, changes (or the lack thereof) in the characterization of women on television since the 1960s will be discussed.

V. Leadership and Gender Representation in the Television Star Treks

A. Theoretical Perspectives on Leadership

The following section turns to a historical review of theoretical perspectives on leadership. The principle focus will be to define the scope of the term 'leadership' as it is seen in both organizational and political circles. In addition, the discussion will identify gaps in current research, thus providing a rationale for the study of leadership and gender representations in the television *Star Treks*.

Systems of Political Leadership

Forms of leadership exist at virtually all levels in our society. As David M. Rosen explains, "any survey of world cultures would reveal that in all socio-cultural systems there are leaders" (1984: 39). To illustrate, Rosen constructs a typology of leadership systems in the world context in his essay "Leadership Systems in World Cultures". His task is not the description of specific types of leadership which exist, or have existed, but rather the construction of what Max Weber termed 'ideal types'. As Rosen clarifies: "it is unlikely that any real system will completely conform to the essence of the ideal type" (1984: 40). There are four system types in Rosen's typology. Each is defined by three dimensions: the mode of distribution, the mode of allocation, and the mode of mobilization.

The first dimension, the mode of distribution, represents the numerical distribution of leaders and/or those in positions of influence in any given society. Rosen explains that the number of leadership positions varies depending upon whether a system is *open* or *closed*. From Diamond, Rosen takes his definition of an open and closed system. Diamond sees three broad situational roles for leadership: situational, generalized and restricted. These three roles define whether a system is open or closed.

Situational leadership roles are the most open. In these circumstances leadership roles are taken on by whoever is deemed most appropriate at any given situation. As Rosen explains "people essentially take on the leadership roles they wish within any specific set of circumstances" (1984: 41). Thus, leadership is a very loosely defined and open construct in such societies.

Generalized leadership roles are those which people take on "as a result of general progress through the life cycle" (1984: 41). People pass into different leadership capacities with the passage of time. As people get older they earn the right to pass on to a new role within society. However, "there are no specifically defined numbers of leadership roles in society. Individuals take up these roles as they wish or as they move through the phases of the life cycle" (1984: 41). Again, this leadership system presents a relatively open situation whereby people are equally capable of taking on leadership responsibilities. The main restriction is age.

Finally, restricted role distribution, as the name implies, occurs in societies in which a closed system of leadership exists. In such societies there are only a small number of leadership opportunities. Typically there is one leader or "head of state". This individual can be "a king, a pharaoh, a führer, and so on" (1984: 41). These closed systems cross the political spectrum from representative democracies to outright dictatorships. The essential feature is the fact that opportunities to take on a leadership role are minimal and reserved for an élite group.

The second major dimension of leadership systems identified by Rosen is the mode of allocation. How do people achieve positions of leadership? In a discussion employing ideal types, the distinction is a simple one: either through achievement or ascription. When a position is achieved, it is accomplished through a determined effort on the part of the person seeking a leadership role. In contrast, ascription is the mandatory assignment to a position, either through birth or the passage of time, often with no degree of achievement required at

all. For example, two of the most crucial ascriptive criteria for leadership positions identified by Rosen are age and sex. The royal family in Britain illustrates the importance of both age and sex. First born males are designated as first in line for the throne. Only the complete absence of males places a female in line for the throne.[22]

The third dimension of leadership systems is the mode of mobilization. That is, how do leaders employ power and influence? Power for Rosen is the use of coercion, while influence is "the use of persuasion in implementing leadership goals" (1984: 42). Quite often these two styles are both employed as required by leaders. This makes it difficult to distinguish which is in fact being used. As Rosen points out, Weber argued that "the effective use of power require[d] social legitimation" (1984: 42). If the individual in power is not considered to be a legitimate holder of such rights, then maintaining power is likely to be a difficult task without the use of force.

Having described the three modes which make up leadership systems, Rosen next identifies four broad types of leadership systems: egalitarian, semi-egalitarian, rank and stratiform. He notes that these four types do not necessarily cover all types of leadership systems, but believes that they do "capture ... the major principles which underlie ... cross-cultural and historical variations in leadership systems" (1984: 46).

The first type of leadership, *egalitarian*, usually occurs in simple or primitive societies. In such societies the mode of distribution is open. Many leadership roles are easily available. Achievement, not ascription, marks the means by which people attain positions. In addition, influence is the mode of mobilization employed in such societies.

The main type of social group which adopts these leadership roles are hunting and gathering societies. Rosen identifies the Inuit, the Australian Aborigines and several African

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[22]It should be noted that distinguishing between ascribed and achieved roles can at times be problematic. For example, Rosen notes that there are criteria in the United States constitution which prevent people from achieving the presidency — the highest leadership role possible — if they are not born in the United States.

hunting tribes as illustrations of egalitarian leadership. These groups are often quite transient in their living styles. They move with seasonal shifts, or move to locations where greater supplies of food are possibly available. There are four traits leaders in these societies often possess: seniority in the family unit, the ownership of land; marriage into a group which owns land; and, personal characteristics.

The second type of leadership system, ***semi-egalitarian***, can be further broken down into two subtypes: 'categorical' and 'managerial'. Semi-egalitarian categorical leadership differ from egalitarian insofar as the formers' roles are ascribed not achieved. Age and sex categories are the pivotal factors which determine who leads. With such a system emerges "a clear male bias" (1984: 49). In general, women in such societies have few opportunities. Because age is often a determining factor as to who leads, these societies are sometimes called gerontocracies. Again, like egalitarian, semi-egalitarian societies tend to be primitive and simple. Several African cattle-keeping tribes are used by Rosen as examples of the categorical leadership style.

Semi-egalitarian managerial systems also differ from categorical in that they have a closed mode of distribution. There are usually a small number of managerial leaders. Rosen characterizes these groups as "village societies where small-scale agriculture predominates but where there is usually a considerable amount of intervillage and intersocietal trade of prestigious goods" (1984: 50). People attain managerial positions through hard work and self-sacrifice. They often act as economic liaisons between local tribes and establish trading networks. In general, managerial leaders play a key role in the economic stability of the village society.

Rank is the third leadership system type discussed by Rosen. There are few positions available in such societies, and ascription and the use of influence are what enable leaders to obtain and maintain such positions. Often leadership in such societies is passed on through kin groups. Rank leaders are often given titles such "as chiefs, king [or] sheikhs" (1984: 52).

Of interest, however, is that these leaders do not by virtue of their positions, receive economic privileges. Rosen explains that "typically, their standard of living is no higher than that of their followers and more significantly, they are bound by the use of influence and persuasion to achieve their ends" (1984: 52).

Where rank leaders differ from managerial leaders is in the process of the redistribution of economic goods. While they do not play a great role in the production process, they often do have "control over redistribution [which] permits them to siphon off sufficient surplus themselves and select followers without the direct input of labor" (1984: 53). This affords rank leaders the luxury of taking on part-time specialists. These specialists provide their leaders with a greater understanding and, therefore, a greater control of the production process.

Stratiform is the fourth leadership system type. Two general subtypes of stratiform leadership exist: authoritarian and democratic. In stratiform leadership societies the central distinction hinges upon "those who control production and those who do the producing" (1984: 54). While some societal mobility exists in such societies, people are in many ways restricted. Stratification results in an "unequal distribution of status, prestige and privileges" (1984: 56). Those with greater levels of status and prestige are usually the ones in control of production. Thus, there are significant economic rifts between those in control and those controlled in stratiform societies.

Examples of stratified societies are varied. They range from feudalism to capitalism to state socialism. While all three of the abovementioned societal types differ considerably, their common link is the "structural inequality between controllers and the conditions of production and the direct producers" (1984: 55). In addition, political leaders in such systems have typically "been drawn from groups and categories of persons who have greater control over economic resources" (1984: 55).

The distinguishing feature of authoritarian systems of stratiform leadership is the greater control over both the economic and political sectors. Such systems cross time from ancient Egypt to modern day China and the Soviet Union. Leaders in these systems often have absolute power. Their roles are ascribed and their privileges are often passed unchallenged from one generation to the next. The political system's control over the economic is usually absolute in authoritarian systems. Communist systems have been a prime modern day example of this political dominance. Leaders in such systems look upon non-socialist systems as "anarchic, irrational and incapable of supporting human collective needs" (1984: 57).

Leaders of democratic stratiform systems would disagree. Democratic systems differ from authoritarian in that the power leaders hold is subject to a greater number of checks and balances. In addition, the economic and political systems often operate as two separate units. This is not to suggest that they are in any sense unrelated or unaffected by one another. However, the central ideology of democratic systems is the removal of "the economy from the control of political authority [which] thereby reduces the concentration of power" (1984: 58). The United States is a modern day illustration of the democratic leadership system.[23] The result of the separation of the economic and the political structures has according to Rosen created "multiple centers of power which have effectively inhibited the emergence of society wide leadership systems with the coordinative and coercive power embedded in authoritarian leadership systems" (1984: 59).[24]

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[23]While the United States does fit this model, it should be noted that its claimed separation of the political and economic is only an ideal state. In reality, it is difficult to deny the indirect effects the state has on the economic system through inflationary policies, etc. Rosen overlooks this factor in his discussion.

[24]The fact that the majority of leaders in the United States come from the economic élite does to an extent undermine the claim that all Americans may strive to attain any leadership position. However, as long as any citizen can 'technically' strive for a leadership role, and has the financial support, the argument still holds.

The preceding discussion has conducted a brief review of David Rosen's typology of leadership systems. His typology crosses a number of societies from ancient to modern, and from primitive to complex. It has been seen that as some systems become more complex, fewer leadership roles and opportunities exist. Their accessibility is limited to a certain extent either through economic or situational circumstances. In addition, modern complex societies rely upon authoritarian and/or legitimated power. In contrast, leaders in simpler societies exercise influence as a means of organizing and directing their societies. What has yet to be considered is whether those who lead differ from those who are led. Do they possess unique personal traits? Do they behave and react differently? What makes a successful leader? The next section reviews twentieth century theories on organizational leadership in an attempt to answer some of these questions.

Organizational Leadership Theories

In his review of contemporary leadership theory Martin M. Chemers (1984) isolates three rough periods: "the trait period, from around 1910 to World War II, the behavior period, from the onset of World War II to the late 1960s, and the contingency period, from the late 1960s to the present" (1984: 93). The following section will conduct a brief overview of these three phases. In addition, contemporary criticisms and alternatives to the contingency period will be presented.

Early trait theory operated from the assumption that those who led were in some manner different from those who followed. Thus, trait researchers concerned themselves with the identification of traits which set leaders apart from the rest of society. In their quest for 'leadership traits', personality tests were conducted. In addition, a great number of studies "were done in which leaders and followers were compared on various measures hypothesized to be related to leadership status or effectiveness" (1984: 94). However, in 1948, Ralph Stogdill conducted a review of over 120 studies conducted on leadership traits. His findings

revealed that no clear pattern existed. Instead, studies on leadership traits tended to be contradictory and variable depending considerably upon situational circumstances.

With the failure of trait theory in the identification of any leader-specific traits, a number of researchers changed their focus. Behavioral psychology became a popular approach to the study of leadership styles. Different styles of leadership were compared to determine which was the most efficient. In one study Kurt Lewin et. al. compared autocratic, democratic and laissez-faire styles and found "that the democratic style had somewhat more beneficial results on group process than the other styles" (1984: 94). Other researchers, using ratings scales, interviews and observational techniques attempted to pinpoint the behaviors used by leaders. Thus, behavioral research marked a shift from a concern with the internal states of leaders to their actual external actions.

As the main advance which emerged from behavioral approaches Chemers cites "the identification of two reliable dimensions of leader behavior" (1984: 95): employee (or socio-emotional) versus production oriented (or task). It was believed initially that this marked a new beginning in understanding the complexities of leadership. However, as researchers soon found out, "the relationship between leader-structuring behavior and group productivity revealed very few consistent patterns" (1984: 95).

With the shortcomings of trait and behavioral theories, researchers were once again forced to develop a new approach to the leadership question. Fred Fiedler is identified by Chemers as the initiator of modern contingency theories. Fiedler developed a personality measure by which a subject was tested for his or her "esteem for the least-preferred co-worker" (LPC scale). An individual who completes this test "is asked to rate an individual with whom the rater had difficulty accomplishing an assigned task" (1984: 95). The belief is that those people who give a very low rating to difficult co-workers are more 'task-motivated' in disposition. In contrast, a leader who gives positive ratings to a difficult co-worker is considered to be 'relationship-motivated'. In turn, as Chemers explains, research

has shown that the task-motivated leader is more concerned with the success of the task at hand and less concerned with interpersonal aspects, while the relationship-motivated leader is more concerned "with avoiding conflict and maintaining high morale, and more likely to behave in a participative and considerate leadership style" (1984: 96).

While contingency models marked an advance in the study of leadership styles, Feidler found after many years of research that explaining style was not a sufficient key for the explanation of leadership effectiveness (1984: 96). Therefore, he developed a model to include situational variables. This situational scale included: leader-member relationships, task structure, and position power. Using these evaluative dimensions, Fiedler revealed that in situations in which the leader had 'high control', a task-oriented leader was the most effective. In 'moderate control' situations, the relationship-motivated leader was found to be more successful. Finally, in 'low control' circumstances, the task-leader again emerged as the most effective leader.

Fiedler's model has not escaped criticism. His LPC scales have been questioned, as have the situational variables "and the general predictive validity of the theory" (1984: 96). While Chemers indicates that more recent reviews have shown that "predictions of the theory are strongly supported by data from both laboratory and organizational studies" (1984: 97), James G. Hunt nevertheless finds fault with the theory. Hunt explains that many feel that the "current paradigm is too narrow and sterile" (1984: 114). He believes that "the job of a leader or manager in an organization is much broader, complex, and dynamic than a contingency paradigm suggests" (1984: 114). To reconcile these weaknesses, Hunt offers four alternate approaches to the traditional contingency paradigm. The first attempts to clarify the differences between a manager and a leader. The second attempts to refine the definition of leadership. The third "emphasizes expanding the nature of the contingencies considered" (1984: 115). And finally, the fourth, challenges the contingency paradigm with the development of an alternate framework.

Hunt explains that the meanings of the terms 'leader' and 'manager' have quite often been looked upon as synonymous. At the same time, however, there exists an entire "body of leadership research [which] has developed independently from a body of managerial behavioral research" (1984: 116). It is Hunt's contention that such a wide rift between leadership and managerial theories has only been counterproductive in the evolution of organizational theories on leadership. He cites Mintzberg's study of chief executive officers (CEOs) to illustrate the interconnectedness of 'leaders' and 'managers'.

Mintzberg studied the roles of five CEOs over a period of five days. He found that the roles of these CEOs could be broken down into three categories: interpersonal, informational, and decision-making. Each role category could be further broken down into more specific subcategories. Interpersonal roles are those required in interactions with people both inside and outside an organization. These involve being a ceremonial-figurehead, a leader and a liaison. Informational roles are those "concerned with the channelling of information into and out of a manager's organization or unit" (1984: 116). These duties include being a monitor, a disseminator and a spokesperson. Finally, decision-making roles are those related to "the performance of several roles entailing organization or work unit strategic decision making" (1984: 116). The decision-making roles include being an entrepreneur, a disturbance handler, a resource allocator and a negotiator.

Mintzberg's model in many respects makes clear the complexities involved in understanding leadership. As Hunt points out, there are ten specific roles identified by Mintzberg, but only one is labelled a 'leadership' role. This leads Hunt to conclude that "if one chose to concentrate on the leader role only, a good many additional managerial roles would be neglected" (1984: 117). In addition, "there is now a fair amount of empirical support for the model [in] that it has ... shaped the thinking of scholars and managers" (1984: 117). Therefore, Mintzberg's model appears to be a useful advance in terms of treating the distinctions involved in the roles of organizational leadership and management.

The second task undertaken by Hunt is a greater clarification of the term leadership. He explains that, in the broadest sense, a leader can be anyone who exerts influence over another. In addition, there are informal and formal leaders. Informal leaders are sometimes called emergent leaders in that they 'emerge' in situations where no specific leader has been designated. Formal leaders are those who are expected to lead, attain or are assigned a leadership task. This wide-reaching approach to the definition of leadership is inadequate for Hunt. He contends that "some organizational scholars [feel] that defining leadership as interpersonal influence is not distinct enough" (1984: 118). These individuals feel that there has to be some variable which sets leaders apart from the rest.

One approach suggested by Hunt is to distinguish between leadership and supervision. This conception sees "leadership as a reciprocal exchange process (1984: 118)". That is, in such circumstances a leader is granted greater status and control than other group members. His or her position, however, is continually the subject of scrutiny and evaluation. If a manager is found to be ineffective in the achievement of specific goals, he or she "will not continue to receive the benefits associated with the position" (1984: 118). Thus, the construction of an effective exchange relationship between the leader and the follower(s) is essential if a leader is to maintain his or her position.

Hunt uses George Graen's Vertical Dyad Linkage (VDL) theory to illustrate the importance of effective exchange relationships. Graen's VDL theory "focuses on the development of different kinds of exchange relationships with different subordinates" (1984: 119). Managers at times develop closer ties with certain subordinates. As a result, these subordinates benefit with greater privileges. This, in turn, builds a strong reciprocal relationship whereby subordinates respond with greater commitment in their completion of assigned tasks. Thus, VDL theory marks a new approach to theories on leadership. Its approach is longitudinal. This technique is employed in an effort to understand the causality of the leadership process. Hunt explains that "earlier studies ... naively assumed that

leadership *caused* subordinate outcomes ... later studies have shown that different causal relationships can exist" (1984: 119).

Expanding the concept of contingencies is the third purpose of Hunt's re-evaluation of the contingency paradigm. For this task, he reviews the work of Rosemary Stewart which focuses on three general contingency variables: demands, constraints and choices. Demands are what all jobholders in any job are asked to do and cannot avoid doing without fear of repercussions. Constraints are "the factors internal and external to the organization that limit what the jobholder can do" (1984: 120). Finally, choices are opportunities jobholders have in terms of delegating time to certain tasks or domains.

Thus, fulfilling demands, working within the boundaries of constraints and making choices are what comprise managerial positions for Stewart. Hunt sees this as an excellent advance for traditional contingency theory insofar as it "introduces a set of conceptually rich categories ... which shape the nature of the manager's job and its leadership requirements" (1984: 121). In addition, like Mintzberg's, Stewart's theory recognizes the fact that the manager's job involves not only leadership but a wide range of job duties.

Stewart believes that "one of the contingencies influencing demands, constraints and choices on a manager's job is hierarchical position or function" (1984: 121). That is, depending where a manager is situated within an organizational structure, he or she has differing responsibilities and functions. Katz and Kahn's hierarchical model of upper level management reaffirms this assertion. Katz and Kahn identify three levels of management: upper, middle and lower. Among upper managers there is a concern for strategy, policy and decision making. At the middle level, "supplementing and 'filling out' ... top level strategy/policy and organizational design decisions" (1984: 122) is the principal focus. Finally, at the lower level, managers are responsible for the administration of existing policies.

The above discussion has presented some of the ways in which organizational theories on leadership have evolved from trait to behavioral to contingency models. In addition it has

been seen how scholars have developed and expanded upon Fiedler's contingency model. Hunt's concluding section presents challenges to the contingency paradigm. That is, there has been a call by some for a "paradigm shift" (1984: 130). As Hunt explains, these challenges come from dramatically different epistemological bases. The first, the 'conservative approach', calls for a more rigourous refinement and extension of current models. This includes: "Improved construct validity ... more careful selection and measurement of dependent variables .... new applications of longitudinal and experimental research designs [and] ... an increase in, and more appropriate use of, multivariate statistical analysis" (1984: 131). In contrast, the 'radical approach' asks to look at "organizations as social constructions of reality", to deal with the "the symbolic nature of management as a process", and to combine sociological and psychological organizational models. As illustrations of the more radical approaches, Hunt lists attribution theory and studies of charismatic leadership.

To this point the evolution of political and managerial leadership in world cultures has been reviewed. In addition, theories on what makes an effective leader have been considered. However, the issue of gender, and the fact that women are often unable to attain, or prevented from attaining, leadership positions, has not been addressed. Historically there has been a noticeable absence of women in leadership positions. Why has this been the case? What do the contemporary feminist perspectives see as a solution to this imbalance? Will this underrepresentation continue in the years to come, or will there be a gradual shift towards a more equal representation for women in managerial and political leadership positions? The next section will attempt to address some of these questions.

Feminist Scholarship on Political and Organizational Leadership

According to Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "there is no research evidence that yet proves a case for sex differences in either leadership aptitude or style" (1982: 241). To support this assertion, Kanter cites a number of studies conducted on gender differences and leadership

abilities. For example, Banter's findings show that "the sex of the leader did not by itself affect follower satisfaction, even when female leaders were characterized by high dominance, a trait most likely to offend male subordinates" (Kanter, 1984: 241). Similarly, other studies have failed to find any significant differences in perceptions of male and female leaders (1984: 241).

Consequently, one must ask why such disparities in gender representation exist given the apparent lack of any measurable differences in leadership ability. The answer becomes clear if one considers another variable: societal attitudes. As Kanter explains "there is considerable evidence for a general cultural attitude that men make better leaders" (1984: 241). In addition, Kanter cites studies which have found that both men and *women* do not wish to work for a woman. The origins of this cultural attitude can in part be understood through an examination of the roles women have historically served in society.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, 19% of all women and 80% of all men were part of the labour force in the United States.[25] Since then, labour force rates for men have remained relatively stable. In 1987, 78% of all American men were part of the labour force; a decrease of only 2%. In contrast, 56% of all American women were active in the labour force in 1987; an increase of 27% (F. Blau, 1985).[26] While a causal explanation for this increased representation of women is premature, a notable possibility is the growth of the feminist movement.

In the 1960s a new ideological schema, known as the feminist consciousness, started to gain momentum. Nancy Adamson et. al., label the growth in the 1960s feminist consciousness as the "second wave of the feminist movement" (1988: 3). Indeed, this was not the first feminist movement. The first wave in North America started in the late nineteenth and early

[25]In 1901, 14.4% of all Canadian women were active in the labour force (S.J. Wilson, 1986: 77).
[26]In 1981, 51.6% of all Canadian women were active in the labour force (S.J. Wilson, 1986: 20).

twentieth century. This initial women's rights movement "began organizing around women's issues such a suffrage, pregnancy rights, education and economic independence" (1988: 30). By the 1920s, most women in the United States and Canada had won the right to vote.[27] Notwithstanding this victory, "most women as well as men still accepted as one of the few unchanging facts of life the conviction that woman's primary duty was to be 'the helpmeet, the housewife, and the mother" (J. Matthews, 1982: 399). Thus, feminists had won the battle but were losing the war. Those seeking attitudinal changes for women with respect to employment and equal opportunity seemed to be in the minority.

By 1960, there had been little change. Most women "were still excluded from the higher echelons of business, government and the professions" (1982: 401). There existed a fundamental problem: as long as women believed they alone were responsible for the care and upbringing of children, "they did not question why they were not represented in business, government, or the arts" (E. Klein, 1987: 23). To further compound the issue, those women who did have aspirations beyond housewife and mother were in direct conflict with those messages being conveyed by the mass media. As Jane De Hart Matthews argues: "Nagging fears that successful careers were inconsistent with marital happiness — at least for women — found reinforcement in Hollywood movies, the women's magazines and scholarly studies." (1982: 402). Consequently, not by coincidence, the feminist movement only began to grow as women's roles in the 1960s "were transformed by the demands of an urban industrial economy" (1982: 23-24). That is, a shift in the representation of women in the workforce occurred when there emerged a greater need for people, in general, to fill positions in the workplace. This greater need for women in the workplace prompted a general attitudinal shift: women could be more than mothers and housewives. Nancy Adamson et. al., describe the 1960s "as a decade of upheaval, change, revolutionary ideas and resistance to any

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[27]Women in Quebec did not receive the right to vote until 1940 (S.J. Wilson, 1986: 132).

authority. The changes in women's work and educational patterns .... took place in the context of a series of popular movements in which everything was questioned. This questioning was expressed in new lifestyles, language, music, dress, ideas, and values" (1988: 38).

In the same manner that there have been increases in labour force representation for women in the United States in this century, there have also been notable increases in the proportion of women managers. In 1987, greater than one-third, or 38% of managerial positions were held by women (G. Powell, 1988: 33).[28] As Gary Powell explains: "Women [in the 1980s have been] rapidly increasing in numbers and influence in managerial ranks" (1988: 34).

However, while the representation of women within the ranks of management has increased considerably in this century, the same cannot be said for their representation amongst the political élite. In Susan J. Carroll's review of feminist scholarship on political leadership, she expresses the concern that women's underrepresentation has only been further perpetuated by the traditional literature on leadership insofar as it "has overlooked women or portrayed them in a distorted manner" (1984: 143). In addition, when women have attained leadership positions "they frequently have been treated as though they were invisible, or barely visible and insignificant [by scholars]" (1984: 143).

In the 1970s, a body of empirical feminist research emerged. These researchers attempted to correct misconceptions related to women leaders and in turn explain gender differences and the underrepresentation of women in élite positions. Carroll indicates that researchers have found a number of factors which have contributed to the underrepresentation of women in elective office. These include: family responsibilities; women's own attitudes;

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[28]Management is defined here as: Nonfarm Executives, Administrators and Managers. No distinction is made between upper, middle and lower management positions with these figures. This leaves open the possibility that although women are rising the to ranks of management, they are nevertheless unable to attain positions within upper management.

financial barriers; supportive/nonsupportive husbands; and, the presence or absence of children (1984: 146). In addition, it has been found that "women who seek and hold political offices have predominantly liberal views on the role of women in politics and society, indicating that few women with more traditional views about women's roles seek political office, especially at the higher levels" (1984: 146). Finally, Marcia Manning Lee, in her study of the relative absence of women in politics, isolates another factor which has slowed the advance of women in electoral politics. As Carroll explains: "[Lee] found that fear of sex discrimination was a major factor inhibiting women activists from running for office and that male activists held attitudes not fully accepting of women as equals" (1984: 147).

For those women who have attained élite political positions, there are again questions which require consideration. For example: are there sex differences in political leadership? As discussed above, managerial research has not found any significant gender differences in organizational settings. In contrast, Lynn Rosener and Peter Schwartz believe that men and women do employ differing leadership styles. They describe "Alpha" styles as more characteristic of males. Such leadership is "analytical, rational, quantitative thinking. It relies on hierarchical relationships of authority' and 'tends to look for deterministic engineered solutions to specific problems" (1984: 151). "Beta" leadership is seen as being the more common female leadership style. This style is described as being "based on synthesizing, intuitive, qualitative thinking. It relies on adaptive relationships for support' and 'tends to look for integrated solutions to systemic problems" (1984: 151).[29]

The preceding section has attempted to shed some light upon the complex issue of women and their representation/underrepresentation in both managerial positions and electoral politics. It has been seen that American women have gradually gained greater representation in

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[29]This dichotomous alpha/beta, male/female distinction is exceedingly problematic and unnecessarily mutually exclusive in terms of its practical application. For example, the Captains of both Enterprises employ "alpha" styles, however, as its was argued in chapter three, it is their differing command styles which account for differences in narrative structures.

management through the course of this century. However, some ambiguity on this point exists insofar as it is unclear as to how far women actually rise within the management ranks. In addition, the 1960s feminist movement has been discussed. The rise of this new ideological schema may account, in part, for the greater élite representation of women in the workforce today.

While women seem to have made significant gains in management, the same cannot be said for their representation in political leadership roles. Moreover, women have been largely ignored by political scholars. It has only been with the advent of feminist perspectives in the 1970s that this has started to change. As Carroll explains, feminist scholars of today "have reached a point where they can begin to turn to questions of impact and leadership style" (1984: 151). That is, as women gain greater representation in élite political positions in the years to come, feminist scholars will be able to further examine sex differences in leadership styles rather than concern themselves with the underrepresentation of women.

B. A Content Analysis of Leadership

Prior to a qualitative analysis of leadership and gender representation in the television *Star Treks*, the findings of a content analysis of leadership and gender portrayals in the two series will be discussed. As John Fiske explains, "content analysis is designed to produce an objective, measurable, verifiable account of the manifest content of messages" (1982: 119). Two separate sets of leadership positions in *Star Trek* can be isolated. There are those individuals 'within', and those 'outside' the Federation.[30] Within the Federation, most leadership positions are military. There are Admirals, Commodores and Captains. In addition,

[30]The distinction between Federation and Non-Federation is purely arbitrary. The intent was to identify leaders symbolic of American society and leaders outside American society. Arguably some individuals identified as 'Non-Federation', such as Ambassador Sarek (see Appendices I and II), could have been labeled 'Federation'. However, if an individual was not a Starfleet officer, or was not 'Earth-based', he or she was considered Non-Federation for the purposes of the present analysis.

there are high ranking non-military officials such as high commissioners and ambassadors.

Outside the Federation exist two primary types of leadership positions: alien starship captains and leaders of alien societies. There are also leaders of scientific expeditions and prominent figures in alien communities. According to Fiske, "much of the interest of content analysis derives from the choice of the unit to be counted, and this count should involve a comparison" (1982: 122). Thus, for the purposes of the following content analysis, leaders are classified as being 'federation' or 'non-federation', and separated by gender.

Figure 3 presents the findings from the original *Star Trek* television series. In total, 21 military and non-military Federation leaders appeared over 79 episodes. This total includes 6 Commodores, 6 Captains, and 4 Admirals. Of these 21 leaders, 20 (95%) were male, while 1 (5%) was female. With respect to non-Federation leaders, 66 were featured. Of these 66 alien leaders, 57 (86.4%) were male and 9 (13.6%) were female. Thus, a wide disparity in gender representation appears to exist in the original *Star Trek* television series.

(Insert figure 3 about here)

In Figure 4 a similar, yet somewhat smaller, disparity in leadership and gender representation can be seen. Over the first 74 episodes of *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, there have been 22 Federation leaders. This total includes 8 Admirals and 8 Captains. Of these 22 leaders, 18 (81.8%) have been male and 4 (18.2%) have been female. Three female leaders have been starship Captains, and one has been an Admiral. As with Federation leaders, the gender gap with non-Federation leaders also appears to have narrowed. To date, there have been 44 alien leaders on *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. Thirty-three (75%) have been male, and 11 (25%) have been female. Appendices I and II provide a list of the characters on which Figures 3 and 4 are based.

(Insert figure 4 about here)

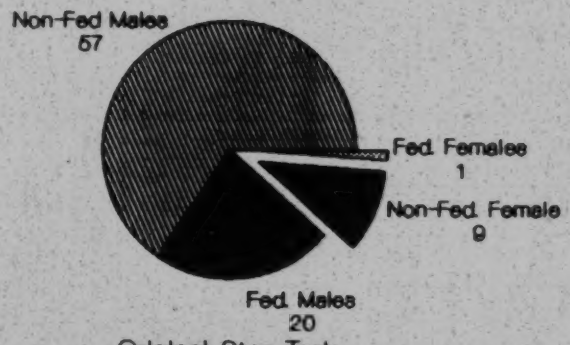
Based on the preceding quantitative analysis, it appears that women in leadership positions are significantly underrepresented in both *Star Trek* television series.[31] It would be an incomplete task, however, if one concluded this solely from the findings of a single content analysis. Indeed, an inherent weakness with any content analysis is the fact that it only deals with surface level features. As Fiske explains, empirical studies such as content analysis are "inductive instead of deductive" (1982: 119). Where content analyses fail, however, is to delve a step deeper to consider the significance of individual units. That is, the fact *Star Trek: The Next Generation* has featured three female captains, as opposed to none in the original series, does not necessarily imply that women are receiving more favorable representations. Consequently, an additional methodological approach is required to examine the types of leadership positions in which women have been cast in the television *Star Treks*. In the next section, Hodge and Kress' social semiotics will be employed to supplement the findings of the preceding content analysis. It is anticipated that their methods will offer a more in-depth understanding of leadership and gender portrayals in the television *Star Treks*.

C. Leadership and Gender Representation in the Original Star Trek

In social semiotics, quantitative data, such as the findings of the preceding content analysis on leadership and gender portrayals in the television *Star Treks*, exist on the mimetic plane. According to Hodge and Kress, "the mimetic balance ... reflects the semiosic conditions" (1988: 135). Two mimetic balances of significance were found upon examination of the original *Star Trek*: one Federation leader out of twenty-one was female; and, nine out

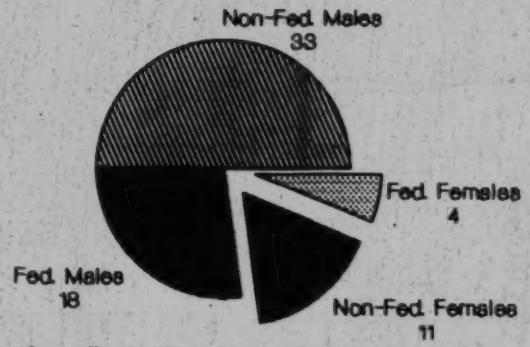
[31]The data arrived at in the present content analysis should not be considered an 'exact' count of all leaders from the *Star Trek* television series. Efforts to replicate the the preceding analysis might arrive at slightly different results. Overall, however, any differences would be minimal and certainly would not alter the fact that female leaders have been notably absent in both television *Star Treks*.

Figure 3
Leadership and Gender Representation



Original Star Trek

Figure 4
Leadership and Gender Representation



Star Trek: The Next Generation

of sixty-six non-federation/alien leaders were female. When Hodge and Kress found a similarly unbalanced relationship of male to female heroes in a large edition of western comics, they concluded that semiosic conditions were the cause of this imbalance. That is, these were "stories about males to be read by males, concerned to construct a masculine identity in isolation" (1988: 135).

While *Star Trek*'s goal of exploring the 'final frontier' is undeniably an extension of the Western genre, it would be incorrect to arrive at a similar conclusion with respect to its semiosic conditions. *Star Trek* was a network television series targeted at a much broader market than the traditional western. Thus, the semiosic conditions which would have precipitated such a wide disparity in gender representation in leadership positions are more likely a reflection of a conscious selection of transparent signs that 1960s audiences were willing to accept. Indeed, when Gene Roddenberry attempted to cast a female as second-in-command of the Enterprise, NBC insisted that she be replaced by a male. Thus, network executives were bound by the rules of their production regime; they perceived the link between a female, and a position of power, as too opaque a sign for viewing audiences to fully accept. However, as the abovementioned content analysis reveals, there are isolated instances in which women have been cast in more powerful positions. In the following discussion a social semiotic analysis of two female Federation leaders from the original *Star Trek* television series will be conducted to illustrate disruptions of semiosic conditions. Following this analysis, a similar study of *Star Trek: The Next Generation* will be conducted.

"Metamorphosis" (written by Gene L. Coon) holds the distinction of being the only *Star Trek* episode from the original series to feature a Federation female in a position of significant power. It was first aired near the end of *Star Trek*'s first season in 1967. The Enterprise has been sent to the planet Epsilon Canaris III to collect Assistant Federation Commissioner Nancy Hedford. Commissioner Hedford has contracted a rare disease and requires immediate medical care. Captain Kirk, Mr. Spock and Dr. McCoy, along with

Assistant Commissioner Hedford (Elinor Donahue), are onboard a shuttlecraft enroute to the Enterprise when a mysterious cloud pulls them off course and maroons them on Gamma Canaris N; an apparently uninhabited planetoid. On its surface, they discover Zefram Cochrane (Glenn Corbett); a famous scientist who was thought to have died over 150 years earlier. Cochrane was responsible for the discovery that speeds greater than light (warp speeds) were possible. At age 87, Cochrane had left his home planet to die in outer space. However, he too had been pulled to this planet by the cloud creature. Cochrane has ceased aging and has been rejuvenated by the cloud creature. He appears as a man in his mid-thirties. He has developed a relationship with the mysterious cloud and is able to communicate with it. He calls it the 'Companion'. Spock constructs a universal translator to communicate with the Companion and Kirk uses it to explain why they should not be forced to live out their lives on this barren planetoid. Kirk discovers that the Companion loves Cochrane. Circumstances are further complicated insofar as Cochrane has fallen in love with Nancy Hedford. When the Companion is informed that the Commissioner is near death, it sacrifices its own immortality and unites with her body to save her life. Thus, the Companion now co-exists within the body of Nancy Hedford and will age as she ages. Cochrane has also lost his immortality and decides to stay on the planet with the Companion/Hedford since she cannot leave. The crew of the Enterprise depart.

The viewer is first introduced to Nancy Hedford in the episode's opening 'teaser' inside the shuttlecraft Galileo. Kirk, Spock, McCoy and Hedford are present. Hedford is displeased with the fact that she was forced to leave before she had finished her assigned task on Epsilon Canaris III. Spock and Kirk are seated at the front control panels and McCoy has been tending to Hedford in the second row of seats. Hedford is seated upright; she is dressed in a pale blue outfit and has a shawl wrapped around her head. The shawl not only covers her head, but conceals her neckline. This gives her an unapproachable air. Thus, the shawl is a signifier, while its intended purpose as a form of clothing is its signified meaning. It is the

combination of the signifier and signified which make it a sign of unapproachability when wrapped around Hedford's head. Curiously, although Hedford is ill, she is serving coffee for the shuttlecraft passengers.

On the mimetic plane, a struggle for power is taking place between Hedford and Captain Kirk. A number of modal signs of both high and low affinity are evident in the conversational exchange which is taking place:

Kirk: How is she doctor?
McCoy: No change.
Hedford: Small thanks to the Starfleet.
McCoy: Now really Commissioner, you can't blame the Starfleet.
Hedford: I should have received the proper inoculations ahead of time.
McCoy: Securo's disease is extremely rare, the chances of anyone contracting it are literally billions to one.
Hedford: I was sent to Epsilon Canaris III to prevent a war Doctor. Thanks to the inefficiency of the medical branch of Starfleet I've been forced to leave before my job was done.
Kirk: Commissioner, I can assure you that once we reach the Enterprise with its medical facilities we'll have you back to your job in time for you to prevent that war.
Hedford: How soon will we rendez-vous with that ship of yours Captain?
Kirk: In exactly four hours, twenty-one minutes Commissioner.

Modality can be expressed in high or low levels of affinity. From this dialogic exchange, it is evident that both Kirk and McCoy hold low levels of affinity for Commissioner Hedford. According to Hodge and Kress, "a low degree of affinity indicates that power difference is at issue" (1988: 123). Assistant Commissioner Hedford is a high ranking Federation official; it is quite likely that she outranks Captain Kirk. She is indignant because she has fallen ill and seeks to blame Starfleet for her misfortunes. That is, Hedford is attempting to use her power difference to enforce her classifications of Starfleet. Kirk and McCoy are Starfleet officers, their responses to Hedford's complaints resemble responses one might use to silence a whining child.

The conversation begins as an exchange of high affinity between Kirk and McCoy. Hedford interrupts to impose her ideological system. McCoy's retort is one which seeks to reconcile the disagreement; however, Hedford persists in imposing her belief system. She is not interested in negotiating an alternate classification. In this semiosic process, she wishes to exercise her power to define the 'truth' of the situation. Kirk will not tolerate alternate classifications on the mimetic plane. He realizes that no compromise will be arrived at whereby a greater state of affinity will exist between Commissioner Hedford and Starfleet. Therefore, he attempts to redirect the conversation toward a topic of higher affinity: the prevention of war on Epsilon Canaris III. Hedford is not interested in any form of agreement with Captain Kirk and instead seeks to reassert her power by asking when they will "rendez-vous with that ship of yours". By referring to the Enterprise as "that ship", Hedford is again imposing a modal tone of low affinity. This serves as a signifier of social distance insofar as she wishes to maintain a classification schema which will not affiliate her in any respect with Starfleet. This denial of any affinity with those around her and the Starfleet in general persists throughout the course of the episode. For example, when the shuttlecraft is pulled off course, Hedford insists that they still make their rendez-vous with the Enterprise — despite the fact that it is clearly impossible.

Hodge and Kress explain that "modality points to the social construction or contestation of knowledge-systems" (1988: 123). The preceding discussion demonstrates how these negotiations can occur on the mimetic and semiosic planes. However, verbal exchanges represent only one level at which power struggles are negotiated. Non-verbal cues can also play a crucial role in the full understanding of the semiosic process. That is, one must not overlook the fact that *Star Trek* is both a verbal and visual medium. Next, specific visual frames from the opening teaser of "Metamorphosis" will be analyzed to provide a more rigorous reading of its non-verbal meanings.

The teaser is over four-minutes in length. Midway through, the alien cloud makes its approach on the Enterprise shuttlecraft. To illustrate, the 23 shots, or 'slides', from the final 100 seconds prior to fade-out and opening credits are presented below:

(1) INSIDE shuttlecraft — Side angle shot of Kirk and Spock.
(2) Rear angle shot of all four passengers; the front viewscreen is being lowered to reveal approaching alien cloud.
(3) Close-up of Spock — calm, looks interested, not frightened.
(4) Close-up of Kirk — calm, some concern.
(5) Close-up of viewscreen and approaching alien cloud.
(6) Sideshot of Kirk and Spock adjusting instruments.
(7) Close-up of viewscreeen and approaching alien cloud.
(8) Close-up of Kirk.
(9) Sideshot of Kirk and Spock.
(10) OUTSIDE view of both cloud and shuttlecraft moving in on one another.
(11) INSIDE shot of Kirk and Spock — lights in shuttlecraft are flashing and shuttlecraft is shaking violently.
(12) Close-up of McCoy — grim expession, appears calm.
(13) Close-up of Hedford — terrified and panicking.
(14) Close-up of Kirk — still calm.
(15) Sideshot of Kirk and Spock.
(16) OUTSIDE view of Shuttlecraft enveloped by cloud.
(17) INSIDE — Close-up of Hedford — panicking and irrational; demands to be told what is happening despite the fact it is blatantly clear that no one knows what is happening.
(18) Sideshot of Kirk and Spock — shuttlecraft is very dark.
(19) Close-up of McCoy — expresses concern for Hedford's welfare.
(20) Close-up of Kirk — acknowledges McCoy's remarks.
(21) Close-up of Hedford — irrational — demands that shuttlecraft make its rendez-vous.
(22) Close-up of Kirk — irritated; tells Hedford to "sit back and enjoy the ride".
(23) Close-up of Hedford — appears incensed — FADE OUT.

These twenty-three shots represent a translation of the film text into words. Taken alone, however, the meaning of these shots remains ambiguous. Meaning must therefore be extracted through an analysis of paradigmatic and syntagmatic structures. In Robert Hodge and David Tripp's view, this is the only approach by which one may understand the meaning of diachronic visual images (1986: 26). Figure 5 provides a breakdown of character structures in "Metamorphosis".

(Insert figure 5 about here)

Two distinct syntagms are readily apparent: (1) the male characters are behaving in a rational manner and are healthy, while (2) the female passenger is acting in an irrational manner and is ill. This is illustrated in the teaser by dialogue and the visual image of Dr. McCoy tending to Commissioner Hedford. In addition, the paradigmatic dimension crosses these two syntagms and reveals three pairs of oppositions: male/female; rational/irrational; and, healthy/sick. These paradigmatic and syntagmatic character structures represent a subset of other structures present in shots 1-23. These paradigmatic and syntagmatic structures are presented below in figure 6.

(Insert figure 6 about here)

On the syntagmatic dimension at time 1 (shots 1-10), it is dark outside the Enterprise shuttlecraft prior to the appearance of the alien cloud. At time 3 (shots 18-23), the alien envelops the shuttlecraft. This makes the exterior light from the point-of-view of the shuttlecraft passengers. At this point, the alien's behavior can only seem aggressive to the passengers of the shuttlecraft and the viewer. This diachronic syntagm describes activities outside the Enterprise shuttlecraft.

A second syntagm decodes messages inside the shuttlecraft. At time 1 it is light inside the shuttlecraft and four humanoids are present. At time 3, the interior of the vessel darkens as a result of the attacking alien. The reactions of the male and female passengers differs. This further splits this diachronic syntagm. The males remain calm while the female panics. Again, a number of paradigmatic categories cross these syntagms. At both time 1 and time 3 exists the exterior/interior distinction. This could also be described as a civilization/wilderness pairing. However, at time 1 the exterior is dark while the interior is light. This is reversed at

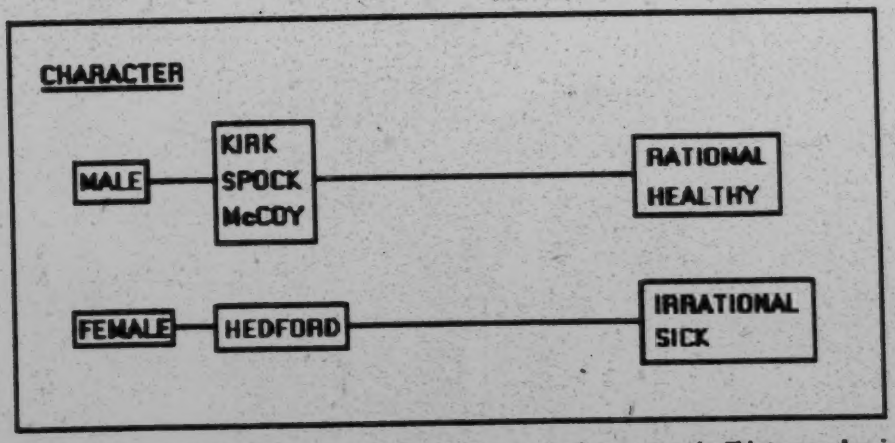


FIGURE 5: Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Character Structures in "Metamorphosis".

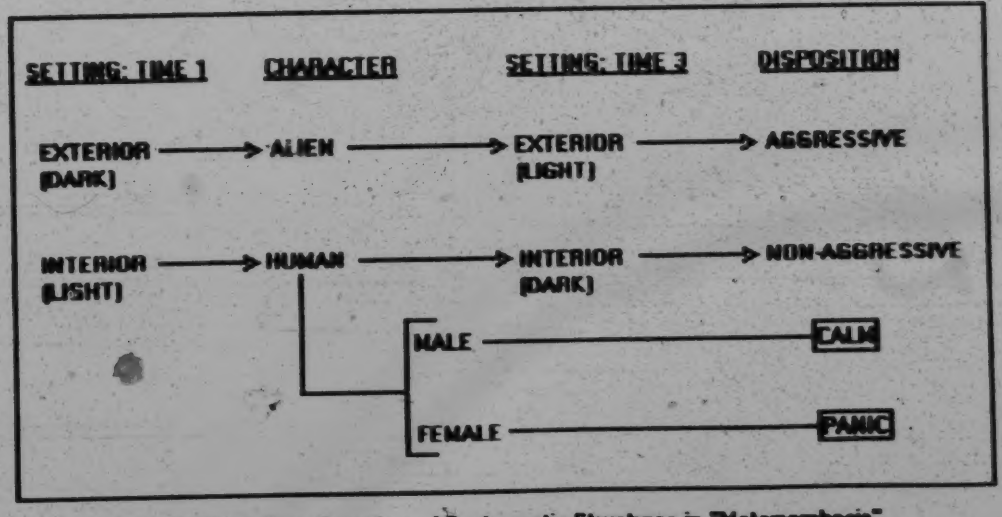


FIGURE 6: Paradigmatic and Syntagmatic Structures in "Metamorphosis".

time 3. Character oppositions also differ when crossing these syntagmatic structures. This emerges as an alien/humanoid or unfamiliar/familiar opposition. Finally, the behavior of these characters are also in opposition. The alien is aggressive, while the shuttlecraft crew are non-aggressive. At the same time, the male passengers remain calm, while the female passenger panics.

Thus, the preceding decoding of 100 seconds from "Metamorphosis" illustrates how paradigmatic and syntagmatic messages combine to create meaning for the receiver. In this instance the differing reactions of four individuals to an unknown alien attacker have been seen. The males were depicted as calm, rational and healthy, while the lone female was presented as irrational, in a panicked state and unhealthy. Indeed, for an individual who should possess high leadership qualifications, Assistant Commissioner Nancy Hedford's depiction and behavior operates in direct opposition to Captain Kirk, a man known to be a strong leader, and as a result, contradicts the behavior one might expect of an individual who holds a position of considerable power within the Federation.

The preceding analysis illustrates the enormity of a social semiotic analysis. From the opening teaser alone a wealth of paradigmatic and syntagmatic structures were revealed. In addition, dialogue provided some valuable insights into the negotiation of power relations. As Hodge and Tripp explain, "it is doubtful whether there can ever be such a thing as an exhaustive semiotic analysis, not only because there is so much to analyse, but because a 'complete' analysis would still be partial because it would still be located in particular social and historical circumstances" (1986: 27). Nevertheless, such analyses do provide an excellent starting point from which one may begin to understand the "structures used to encode meaning" (1986: 27). Next, another episode from the original *Star Trek* television series will be discussed.

"The Turnabout Intruder" (written by Arthur H. Singer; story by Gene Roddenberry) was first aired at the end of *Star Trek*'s third season in June, 1969. Responding to a distress

call from Janice Lester (Sandra Smith), the leader of a scientific expedition on the planet Camus II, Captain Kirk, Mr. Spock and Dr. McCoy beam down to investigate. Kirk and Lester had previously been romantically involved at the Starfleet Academy. While Kirk had gone on to become a starship Captain, Lester had been deemed unfit for the captaincy. She depises Kirk for this reason and believes the fact she is a woman prevented her from advancing in Starfleet ranks. Lester has used the distress call as a ruse to lure the Enterprise to Camus II. Apparently, a mysterious illness has broken out amongst expedition workers and several have died. Lester has also been stricken by the "illness". In reality, she has found an ancient device which allows the transfer of an individual's consciousness from one body to another. When Kirk and Lester are alone, Lester activates the device and transfers her mind's consciousness into Kirk's body, leaving Kirk's in her body. Dr. Coleman (Harry Landers), Lester's associate, is the only individual aware of the transfer, and is given exclusive care of "Lester" by "Kirk". As a result "Lester" is sedated and taken to the Enterprise for observation. "Kirk" wants "Lester" to remain sedated so that Kirk's mind does not regain consciouness. Spock witnesses the awakening of "Lester" in sickbay and becomes suspicious that some form of mind transfer has taken place. This would explain "Kirk's" increasingly irrational behavior since his return from the planet's surface. Following a 'mind-meld' with "Lester", Spock decides that a transfer has indeed occured. Lester, as "Kirk", calls for a court martial against Spock in response to his accusations. Lester, however, is unable to keep her emotions in order through the course of the trial and loses her temper and breaks into hysterics several times. As a result, McCoy and Mr. Scott decide to vote in Spock's favour at the hearing. "Kirk" (Lester) charges McCoy and Scott with mutiny and orders that they, along with Spock, be executed. At this point, the crew realize that something is seriously amiss and refuse to obey "Kirk's" orders. At the same time, the mind transfer starts to weaken. Dr. Coleman informs "Kirk" that the only way the tranfer can be made permanent is through the death of Lester's body and, hence, Kirk's mind. Before this occurs, the transfer

breaks and Kirk and Lester are returned to their respective bodies. Lester is reduced to a weeping wreck and Dr. Coleman, who professes his love for Lester, promises to help rehabilitate and care for Lester. The crew of the Enterprise depart.

"The Turnabout Intruder" presents an interesting study in what can occur when the rules of the logonomic system are broken. As Hodge and Kress explain, "logonomic systems ... rely on systems of gender metasigns, which construct gender identities and transmit a continuous and pervasive set of messages about gender" (1988: 97). In turn, they argue that these metasigns reflect dominant conceptions of gender relations (1988: 97-98). In "The Turnabout Intruder" this dominant ideology is revealed early on in a conversation which takes place between Kirk and Lester:

Lester: I hoped I wouldn't see you again.
Kirk: I don't blame you.
Lester: The year we were together at Starfleet is the only year in my life that I was truly alive.
Kirk: I never stopped you from going on with your space work.
Lester: Your world of starship captains doesn't include women .... it isn't fair.
Kirk: No, it isn't ... and you punished and tortured me because of it. [long pause]
Lester: I loved you ... We could have roamed among the stars.
Kirk: We'd have killed each other.

Thus, it appears that Lester was considered unfit to be a starship captain at least in part because she was a woman. As a result, Starfleet's leadership system can be classified as closed. Individuals may advance within the ranks of Starfleet to achieve the rank of Captain, however, biological sex prevents women from attaining similar positions. This logonomic rule is given further support insofar as Kirk does not disagree with Lester's interpretation. Instead, he agrees and then makes a confrontational/accusatory statement. Later, at Spock's court martial, Kirk, as "Lester", clarifies further why he believes Janice Lester has stolen his body. He explains: "Yes [she did it], to get the power she craved, to attain a position she doesn't merit by temperament or training and most of all she wanted to murder James Kirk a man

who once loved her". Consequently, it seems fair to conclude that biological sex is a significant barrier to advancement within Starfleet even in the 23rd century. Indeed, this fact receives further support insofar as the quantitative analysis conducted earlier revealed a complete absence of female starship captains in the original *Star Trek*.

Lester believes that by commandeering Kirk's body, she will be able to bypass the logonomic rules which define the mimetic and semiosic planes within which she exists. However, once she has taken over Captain Kirk's body, she is unable to supress her own gender specific behaviors.[32] As a result, Spock and McCoy immediately notice changes in "Kirk's" behavior once 'possessed' by Lester. In their view Kirk has developed some form of 'mental illness'. Spock refers to Kirk's actions as abberant and suggests that the Surgeon General's office be contacted. In addition, more subtle non-verbal gender metasigns reinforce for the receiver that it is not Kirk within Kirk's body. "Kirk" carries his body differently: he stands more upright; he purses his lips and holds his cheeks in an uncharacteristic fashion when annoyed; he holds his head in an aloof manner; he clenches his fingers tightly when giving orders; and, he speaks quickly and in a higher tone. When McCoy visits "Kirk" in his quarters, he is seen to be diligently filing his nails. Finally, most telling is a scene at the conclusion of Spock's court martial where "Kirk" breaks into hysterics as he repeats the charges against Spock.

All of these changes in Kirk's behavior transmit distinct gender metasigns and suggest that a classification system exists whereby one may identify gender differences.

(Insert figure 7 about here)

Indeed, it is these gender differences which ultimately betray Lester as "Kirk". She believed

[32]These 'gender specific behaviors' refer to Lester's own personal qualities. In turn, Kirk possesses his own 'unique' set of gender behaviors. Neither of these sets of traits should be construed as being exclusive to males or females.

she could overcome the barrier of being a woman by becoming a man. However, it is her own 'unique' gender differences which ultimately lead to her downfall and her inability to command as "Kirk". The transformative process linking gender and sex differences is illustrated in figure 7.

The preceding social semiotic analysis of two episodes from the original *Star Trek* television series has served to illustrate how a reliance upon quantitative data alone is insufficient for a full understanding of gender representation in leadership positions. Certainly, the very absence of women in leadership positions is by no means irrelevant. However, by examining dialogue, and non-verbal images in "Metamorphosis" and "The Turnabout Intruder", it has been demonstrated how in the rare instances in which women have been depicted in leadership roles, their presentations have been highly negative. Assistant Commissioner Hedford was seen to be irrational and insecure, while Dr. Lester was depicted as having been driven mad by virtue of her biological sex and the fact that it apparently prevented her from attaining the rank of Captain. The next section turns to a social semiotic analysis of two female Captains presented in two episodes of *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. As discussed earlier, women have been cast in a slightly greater proportion of leadership positions in the new series. However, whether their presentations have been more favorable merits analysis.

D. Leadership and Gender Representation in Star Trek: The Next Generation

"Yesterday's Enterprise" (story by Trent Christopher Ganino and Eric A. Stillwell) was first aired during *Star Trek: The Next Generation's* third season in February, 1990. The Enterprise is on a routine mission when it encounters a mysterious rift in space. It is determined to be a hole in the space-time continuum and appears as a swirling cloud. Captain Picard decides to investigate further. From the center of the rift emerges an unidentified ship. As the ship appears, the very fabric of time is altered and a new time line takes its place. Lt.

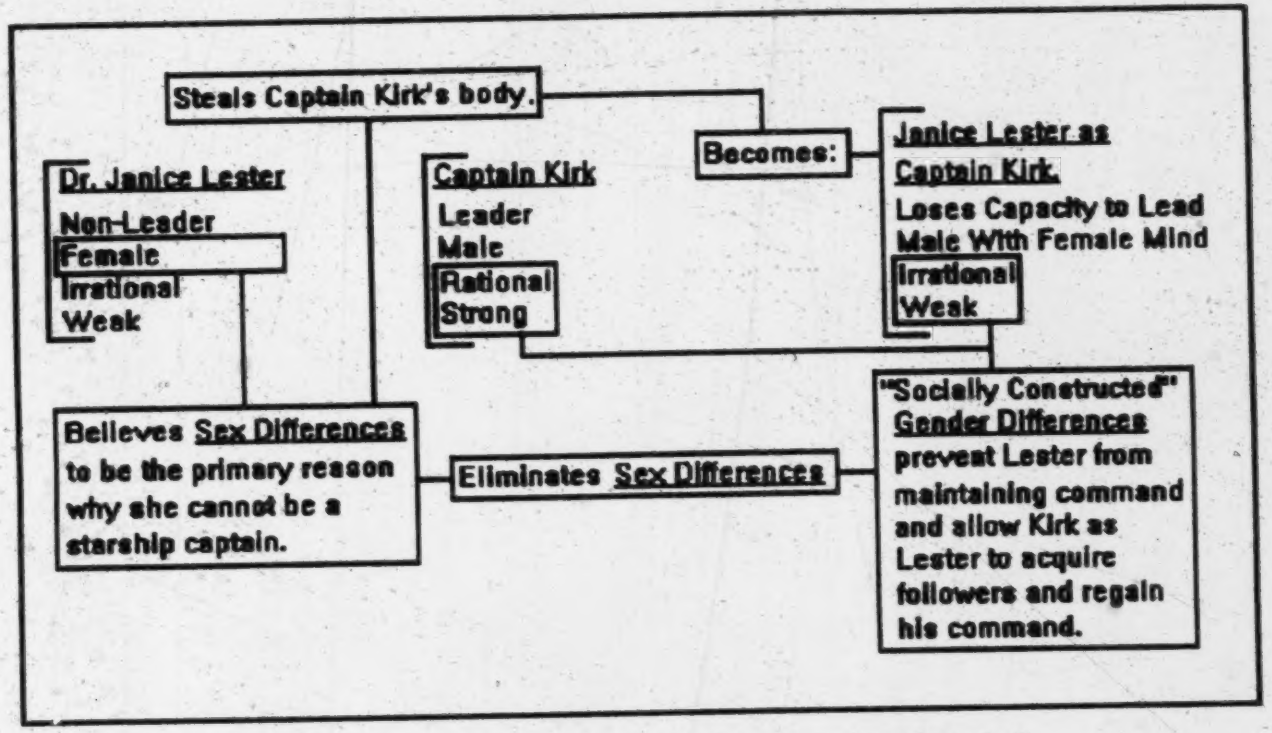


FIGURE 7: Gender Metasigns in "The Turnabout Intruder".

Worf is gone and in his place is Tasha Yar; a character killed during *Star Trek: The Next Generation's* first season. In addition, the Enterprise and the Federation have been significantly altered. The ship is a battlecruiser and the Federation has been at war with the Klingons for more that twenty years. None of the crew are aware of these changes. However, Guinan (Whoopi Goldberg), an alien woman with unique perceptions, senses that something is different.[33] She tells Captain Picard that something is wrong and that the ship has changed. Although she is unable to fully articulate how and why things are different, Captain Picard does take her warnings into consideration. The strange ship is identified as the U.S.S. Enterprise NCC-1701-C; a ship recorded as 'missing' twenty-two years earlier. The Enterprise-C is visibly battered, but life signs are detected. Captain Rachel Garrett (Tricia O'Neil) and roughly 150 of her crew are still living. The injured are taken back to the Enterprise-D for treatment. It is learned that the Enterprise-C had been engaged in battle against the Romulans in defense of a Klingon outpost when for unexplained reasons it had been transported twenty-two years into the future. Captain Picard believes that the Enterprise-C's arrival was somehow a catalyst for a shift in the space-time continuum. It is decided that the Enterprise-C should return to its own time even though it is highly likely that it will be destroyed in battle upon its return. This will hopefully end/avert the outbreak of a Federation/Klingon war and return things to the way they were prior to the Enterprise-C's arrival. Captain Garrett returns to her ship, eventually decides Picard is correct, and orders her crew to prepare for their return through the rift. However, as preparations are being made, Klingon warships arrive and attack both ships. During the ensuing battle Captain Garrett is killed. Following the battle, Tasha Yar requests a transfer to the Enterprise-C to assist with its return. While this request appears almost suicidal, it is precipitated by Yar's discovery, through Guinan, that in the 'alternate' timeline she died a senseless death. Captain

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[33]Guinan makes occasional appearances on *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. She is centuries old. Very little about her race has been revealed.

Picard reluctantly agrees to the transfer. The Enterprise-C, with the protection of the Enterprise-D, makes its return just as the latter is on the brink of total destruction at the hands of the Klingons. At this point, the 'natural' order of time is restored. Commander Worf is back at his station and informs Captain Picard that a ship briefly appeared, then vanished. Guinan, meanwhile, is content with the knowledge that the peaceful timeline has been restored. The crew of the Enterprise continue on their mission oblivious to all that has, or might have, occurred.

"Yesterday's Enterprise" is the only episode from either *Star Trek* series to feature a female at the helm of a starship. Whereas Janice Lester was unable to attain the position of Captain in "The Turnabout Intruder" as a result of structural barriers, no such limits seem to exist in the 24th century *Star Trek* universe. Rachel Garrett is depicted as a competent, self-assured, socio-emotional leader. She expresses considerable concern and respect for her crew and is aggressive in her desire to arrive at a full understanding of the situation in which she and her crew have found themselves. Thus, it would seem that the logonomic system which previously constrained the rise of women into positions of power has either ceased to exist, or has weakened.

As discussed earlier, logonomic systems depend upon gender metasigns. Hodge and Kress explain that these systems of gender metasigns "construct gender identities and transmit a continuous and pervasive set of messages about gender" (1988: 97). In turn, these metasigns are expected to be a representation of contemporary social conceptions of gender relations. Presented below is the first dialogic exchange between Captain Picard and Captain Garrett. This passage will serve to illustrate how gender metasigns have changed to create a more favorable presentation of women in leadership positions.

Picard: I'm Captain Jean-Luc Picard.
Garrett: Rachel Garrett. How's my ship?
Picard: The support systems are being restored. Continuing repairs.
Garrett: Where did you come from? We weren't picking up any Federation ships

	in this sector.
Picard:	What's the last thing you remember?
Garrett:	We were answering the distress signal.
Picard:	Distress signal?
Garrett:	You must have heard it. From the Klingon outpost Norendra III .... but you didn't, did you? This sick bay, I've never seen anything like it even on a starbase and your uniform. What ship is this Captain?
Dr. Crusher:	Please be still.
Picard:	[sighs] You're onboard the Enterprise Captain .. 1701 .. D ... you have come twenty-two years into the future.
Garrett:	Twenty-two years. Does my crew know yet?
Picard:	No.
Garrett:	I must tell them, I owe them that.
Picard:	If you wish I can see that they are informed.
Garrett:	Is there some reason they should not be told?
Picard:	I am concerned that if you return to your own time with the knowledge of the future ... [Garrett interrupts]
Garrett:	Return to the battle — we barely escaped with our lives. If we returned we'd be destroyed.

It is important to consider the vulnerability of Garrett in the preceding conversation. She is on a strange and unfamiliar starship. She is lying on her back on a sickbay bed and restrained by a medical apparatus fastened across her chest and lower torso. She would be unable to get out of bed even if she wished to. As a result, her point of view is considerably restrained. The receiver is given a hint of this vulnerable and subordinate position at the scene's outset as the camera pans across the sickbay at a height and angle which roughly matches what Garrett would see from her restrained position. There are many people swarming about in the background creating a sensation of urgency and confusion. Captain Picard enters and slowly approaches Garrett. Closeups of Garrett reveal a soiled face and a bleeding nose. In addition, she is suffering from severe internal injuries. In spite of all these factors, Garrett is highly assertive in her conversation with Picard. Indeed, she takes complete control asking six questions during their short exchange.

Technically, Picard and Garrett share equal status as captains. There exists in this instance, however, a paradigmatic opposition of vulnerability/control. Picard should have little difficulty controlling the course of the conversation given Garrett's weakened condition.

Instead, Garrett is successful in transforming the structure of their exchange to the point where the paradigmatic oppositions have been reversed. Garrett assumes control as Picard relents. This transformation can be explained further by two other oppositional pairs: reserved/assertive and compliant/demanding. Picard enters the sickbay with a reserved, diplomatic attitude. He does not wish to reveal that the Enterprise-C has travelled twenty-two years into the future, nor does he wish that its crew be informed. However, Garrett's assertive and unrelenting barrage of questions force Picard to comply. This compliance demonstrates the respect Picard, or any captain, should hold for an officer of equal rank. Thus, metasigns which would serve to illustrate gender differences are opaque in this instance; Picard and Garrett are equals and treat each other as such.

In social semiotics the study of contradictions is an essential principle of analysis if one is to arrive at a better understanding of dominant ideological and oppositional messages (1988: 268). A dilemma for Picard emerges when he is told by Guinan that something has changed. He realizes that the Enterprise-C must return to its own timeline given its potentially crucial role in averting a twenty-year interstellar war. Moreover, he is fully aware that it will be virtual suicide to pass through the rift given that Romulan Warbirds will likely destroy the Enterprise-C upon its return. However, as the above dialogic exchange demonstrated, Garrett is both unwilling and unprepared to return. As a result, Picard must find a way to convince Garrett that it is in her, and everyone's, best interests to return. Therein lies the contradiction.

Captain Garrett does not want to return. This seems logical given the impending destruction which faces the Enterprise-C upon its return. However, this makes little sense given that the Enterprise-C does not belong in the current time-line. Essentially, an effort to return is Captain Garrett's primary duty. Captain Picard realizes this responsibility. However, he also recognizes and respects the fact that it is ultimately Captain Garrett's decision. Therefore, he has to find a way to diplomatically convince Garrett to return without making

it seem as though he is ordering her to do so. He accomplishes this in the following manner.

Garrett: Captain, I would be lying to you if I told you there was a chance in hell of coming out of this alive. Why doesn't your ship come back with us? The Romulans would be no match for your weaponry.

Picard: I can't do that.

Garrett: No I suppose not. You don't belong in our time anymore than we belong in yours. To be honest with you Picard, a significant number of my crewmembers have expressed a desire to return even knowing the odds. Some because they can't bear to live without their loved ones. Some because they don't like the idea of slipping out in the middle of a fight. But I have told them that in the here and now the Federation needs another ship against the Klingons and we'd better get used to being in the here and now.

Picard: But if you go back it would be a great deal more helpful [long pause, Captain Picard sighs and starts whispering] ... The war is going very badly for the Federation, far worse than is generally known. Starfleet Command believes that defeat is inevitable. Within six months we may have no choice but to surrender.

Following this exchange, Garrett orders her crew to prepare for their return through the rift. Garrett had been determined to stay, but Picard employs a manipulative tactic to persuade her otherwise. By taking Garrett aside and whispering he makes it seem as though he has privileged information. Whether the Federation is indeed on the brink of defeat is unknown. To this point he has had little success in convincing Garrett to return, therefore, by whispering he is employing a modal tone of high affinity and a sign which signifies high solidarity, confidentiality and trust. Thus, Garrett's decision to return appears as her own when in a sense she has been subtly coerced. In addition, Captain Picard has indirectly reminded her of her duties as a Captain in a respectful fashion without any confrontation or outright disagreement. All in all, despite Captain Picard's manipulation, it is clear that Garrett receives a far more favorable representation as a women in a position of power than Nancy Hedford or Janice Lester in the original *Star Trek* series. Next, the presentation of a second female Starfleet Captain from *Star Trek: The Next Generation* will be discussed.

"The Measure of a Man" (written by Melinda Snodgrass) was first aired during *Star Trek: The Next Generation*'s second season. The Enterprise is visiting a new Starbase on the neutral zone border between the Federation and the Romulan Empire. Captain Picard meets an old friend/foe from the past: Captain Philipa Louvois (Amanda McBroom). Captain Louvois was the prosecuting attorney ten years earlier when Captain Picard was court-martialed for the loss of the Starship Stargazer. Picard still holds a grudge, and demonstrates little respect for Louvois in their brief conversation. Louvois has recently been appointed head of the Judge Advocate General's (JAG) office for this sector of space. Later, onboard the Enterprise, Lt. Commander Data is informed that he has been transferred to Commander Maddox (Brian Brophy) of the Daystrom Technological Institute. Maddox intends to disassemble Data so that he may construct more androids like him. Reluctantly, Captain Picard seeks Captain Louvois' advice. She suggests Data resign. In turn, Commander Maddox argues that Data cannot resign as he is Starfleet 'property'. Louvois rules in Maddox's favour; a decision which Picard challenges. As a result, a hearing is held with Picard defending Data and Commander Riker prosecuting. Commander Riker, while reluctant to prosecute his friend Data, does so to prevent Louvois from ruling summarily in Maddox's favour. By removing Data's arm and switching him 'off', Riker builds a convincing case to demonstrate that Data is no more than a machine. In response, Picard argues that building more "Datas" would be the creation of a new race of beings. Therefore, to deny them freedom and the right to choose would be slavery. Louvois, on the basis of the arguments presented, rules in Data's favour. Data has the right to choose and, therefore, officially refuses to submit to Commander Maddox's studies. The Enterprise departs.

Using Will Wright's methods in chapters three and four, it was possible to demonstrate how certain narrative structures have paralleled one another in the old and new television *Star Treks*. Similarly, the narrative of "The Measure of A Man" parallels the narrative of "The Turnabout Intruder". However, the manner in which these two episodes

resemble one another is not immediately apparent. Indeed, a purely structural analysis would not capture the fact that the Picard/Louvois relationship in many respects follows a pattern similar to the Kirk/Lester relationship. This is because both relationships are prior to the film text and, to a great extent, obscured from the receiver. Thus, these two relationships are opaque, diachronic syntagms. The similarities and differences of these syntagmatic structures will be briefly outlined below.

In social semiotics, a story's narrative is oriented to the mimetic plane which, in turn, represents some version of reality. The information that the viewer receives, with respect to past mimetic circumstances, is incomplete for both episodes. Therefore, it is necessary to reconstruct past structures to acquire a better understanding of present oppositions. Both women are friends from the past. In Kirk's case, Lester was a lover. With Picard and Louvois, the relationship is unclear, although a relationship of some past intimacy/friendship is implied by the manner in which they converse. For example, at one point, Louvois tells Picard that he "is still sexy". In both instances the relationships came to abrupt conclusions. Kirk and Lester, because Lester could not become a captain; and, Picard and Louvois, because Louvois prosecuted Picard in the Stargazer court-martial. As a result, all four individuals hold longstanding grudges. In Lester's case, the grudge leads to revenge via the theft of Kirk's body; and, in Louvois case, the opportunity presents itself whereby she could 'get back' at Picard. However, Louvois does not forget her responsibilities as chief of the Judge Advocate General's office, buries her grudge, and rules based on the facts of the case, not based on personal feelings. Consequently, Picard and Louvois acquire a renewed respect for one another. In contrast, Lester fails in her vindictive efforts and is reduced to a highly incapacitated state.

The fact Philipa Louvois is a captain has been crucial in decoding the meaning of the above syntagms. Louvois rose to a position of power which Janice Lester was unable to attain. Had Lester not encountered structural barriers, it is quite possible that she too could

have become a captain, and, in turn, as competent an officer as Louvois. Instead, structural barriers drove Lester mad with jealousy and hate to the point where she hated the very fact she was a woman. Thus, the paradigmatic opposition of Captain/Non-Captain has been revealed as a central factor in the diachronic syntagms which define the past relationships of Kirk/Lester and Picard/Louvois. In turn, this opposition is pivotal in explaining the differing narratives of these two episodes. Hodge and Kress explain that the narrative quite often "serves to signify the stability of the status quo" (1988: 230). That is, ideologically, the narrative's "structure acknowledges that the state of affairs can be disturbed and unsettled, but it promises that [it] will return to a state of equilibrium which is prior and natural and therefore inevitable" (1988: 230). In this instance, an examination of the structural similarities and differences of syntagmatic structures within a late 1960s, and a late 1980s episode of *Star Trek*, has served to illustrate how societal values have changed, been transmitted and reproduced — thus legitimating the notion of a female captain.

The preceding social semiotic analysis of two female leaders from the original *Star Trek* and two female Captains from *Star Trek: The Next Generation* has demonstrated how the depiction of women in leadership positions has changed to offer more positive representations of women in the 1980s and 1990s. This is in spite of less encouraging quantitative findings which have revealed a continued underrepresentation of women in general in leadership positions. Consequently, can these more favorable presentations for women on *Star Trek: The Next Generation* be construed as isolated examples or a reflection of a change in societal values? Have there been widespread changes in the portrayal and representation of women on television? Indeed, aside from *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, has the rise in the women's movement been accompanied by a simultaneous transformation in the characterization of women on television? The next section briefly addresses these questions through a review of research related to the characterization of women on television.

E. The Changing Characterization of Women on Television?

Star Trek's creator, Gene Roddenberry, can be credited as having made one of the earliest efforts at changing the characterization of women on television. In "The Cage" (1964), the original pilot for the *Star Trek* television series, 'Number One', the second-in-command of the Enterprise, was played by a woman (Majel Barrett). While "The Cage" was rejected by NBC, the *Star Trek* series was not. Instead, Roddenberry was asked to make several casting changes — including the elimination of Number One — and a second pilot. In "The Making of *Star Trek*", Stephen E. Whitfield and Gene Roddenberry explain why Number One was written out.

> NBC recommended eliminating the character of Number One from the series. Gene [Roddenberry] agreed. He had thought it might be an interesting situation to have a female with important command responsibilities. Also, it was hoped this would help draw the female audience to the show. Although portrayed by an excellent actress, it hadn't worked out that way. Audience tests of this character, after viewing the pilot, ranged from resentment to disbelief. Yet audience questionnaires stated they liked the actress. There was a seeming inconsistency in the audience reaction.
>
> The answer, once it became clear, contained a valuable principle. Although STAR TREK was a show about the 23rd century, it was being viewed by a 20th century audience — who resented the idea of a tough, strong-willed woman ("too domineering") as the second-in-command. (1968: 128)[34]

It is clear then, that changes in the portrayal of women on television were not going to be readily accepted by network executives.

Those individuals who have reviewed, or have conducted, studies on gender representation on television agree on one point — not enough research has been done (K. Fishburn, 1982; E.A. Kaplan, 1987; J. Seggar, et.al., 1981; M.R. Cheney, 1986). Furthermore, as Katherine Fishburn notes in *Women in Popular Culture: A Reference Guide*,

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[34] Dialogue from "The Cage" illustrates the novelty, for television, and presumably America in the 1960s, of having a female character cast in a position of power. In one scene, Captain Pike (Jeffrey Hunter) collides with his new Yeoman on the bridge. Number One (Majel Barrett) explains to Pike: "She's replacing your former Yeoman, Sir". To which Pike responds: "She does a good job alright, but I just can't get used to the idea of having a woman on the bridge —(pause, as Pike realizes what he's just said) — No offense Lieutenant, you're different of course".

there is a notable absence of qualitative research related to women and television. However, the quantitative research which has been conducted is useful as a starting point. For example, one content analysis of the portrayal of women and minorities in television drama and comedy drama indicates that "women have improved their proportionate representation substantially" (J. Seggar et. al., 1981: 285) between 1975 and 1980.

Another study "explored the perception of the televised image of women" and attempted to establish what criteria people use in assigning 'positive' or 'negative' judgements to the representation of a female character (Atwood et. al. 1986: 95). Atwood et. al. found that: "perceived positive and negative images of women" fell into two sets of criteria: (1) 'Contemporary': strong, intelligent, professional, realistic, weak, exploited, demented housewives and sex objects; and, (2) 'Traditional': moral, attractive, taking care of others, selfish, immoral, and aggressive. In addition, these researchers discovered that "the criteria for judging positive and negative images of women was not significantly different for female and male respondents" (1986: 99-100).

To speak of 'positive' and 'negative' images is not without its critics. E. Ann Kaplan argues that these types of analyses "do not tell us much about how these images are produced ... or exactly how these images *mean*, how they "speak" to the ... viewer" (1988: 221). However, to discount the importance of viewer perceptions in the study of gender representation on television would be shortsighted. Indeed, the manner in which gender relations are perceived by television viewers is a crucial factor in arriving at a comprehensive understanding of how societal attitudes are reflected and projected by the medium and subsequently, shaped and reshaped by the audience. As Atwood et. al., argue, with the development of "more sophisticated measures of variables associated with frame of reference, as well as situational perception variables ... future research on how audiences members interpret televised images [may prove valuable]" (1986: 100).

Not all research related to the characterization of women on television has been encouraging. E. Ann Kaplan, in "Feminist Criticism and Television", identifies several studies which have arrived at the same conclusion: women have been misrepresented on television over the last four decades. Indeed, A. Manstead and C. McCulloch's (1981) review of gender stereotyping in British television advertisements from a one week period in 1979, found that males were less likely to be shown as product users than women. Moreover, women were found more likely to be seen in dependent roles and/or in domestic settings selling home-oriented products. Similarly, J. Suls and J. Gastoff's (1981) study of sex discrimination in October 1977 of sexual content and hostility in prime-time television humor revealed that males 'disparaged' women more frequently than women 'disparaged' men.

In another study, Swedish television and radio shows were examined using content analysis methods to ascertain what implicit messages, if any, were present (U. Abrahamsson, 1985). This analysis revealed that boys were more often seen as successful and ambitious, while girls were more frequently seen to be family-oriented. Similarly, K. Durkin's (1985) study of television and sex-role acquisition found substantial differences in the portrayal of men and women on television. Males were more often seen as dominant, while women were more often seen as nurturing.

Nevertheless, despite these pessimistic findings, it is difficult to deny that the characterization of women did start changing in the 1970s; albeit, slowly. For example, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, with its portrayal of a single, working woman is viewed by Arthur Hough as a landmark in the depiction of women on television. He states: "When there are a thousand sitcoms in television history, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* will probably still be among the top ten in terms of historical and social significance" (1981: 221). John Fiske concurs and argues that "MTM Enterprises in the 1970s produced sitcoms that picked up and developed cultural concerns with shifting definitions of femininity, and produced shows like *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Rhoda* and *The Bob Newhart Show*" (1987: 112). Fiske also

notes that women in the 1970s and 1980s have received a higher profile in other genre such as 'cop shows'(1987: 112-113).

Three recent television studies have identified a shift in the presentation of women on television. D. Reep and F. Dambrot (1987), examined single, professional women and their working relationships with men in six 1980s television series. Their analyses revealed that there has been a shift from the traditional presentation of women as incompetent and/or concerned with domestic matters. Instead these women were seen to be confident, serious and competent decision makers; often more intelligent than their male leads. In addition, these female characters were attracted to, but resisted, the romantic overtures of their male leads because they did not wish to jeopardize their working relationships.

Similarly, in a study of gender presentations in rock videos aired on the rock video station Music TV (MTV), Pamela Kalis and Kimberly A. Nuendorf (1989) found that women in rock videos from a seven day sample in 1985, were less often the target of physical aggression than men. Moreover, women were more often found to be the initiators of violence. These findings ran contrary to other studies which have asserted that women are more likely the target of aggression (R. C. Vincent, D. K. Davis and L. Boruszkowski, 1987; Richard C. Vincent, 1989).

Finally, a recent meta-analysis of studies conducted between 1971 and 1985 related to the portrayals men and women have received in U.S. television commercials (D.J. Bretl and J. Cantor, 1988), reveals that men and women now receive equal representation as the prime character. In turn, men are more often being depicted as spouses and/or parents. However, women are still more frequently depicted in domestic settings or selling domestic products, while males are less often presented as product users.

While the above review demonstrates the multiplicity and often contradictory findings related to the changing characterization of men and women on television since the 1960s, little has been said with respect to gender depictions in science fiction series other than *Star Trek*.

In part, this is due to the fact that there have been few successful science fiction series since the original *Star Trek*. However, Constance Penley (1989), in her review of gender portrayals in film and television, does devote a brief section to science fiction. She too notes a relative absence of successful science fiction series since *Star Trek*; however, she does isolate the short-lived *V* (and *V: The Final Battle*)[35] as one illustration of a science fiction series of significance from the 1980s. As Penley explains:

> [In *V*] the Commander of the alien force that takes over Earth's major cities, the Supreme Commander of the aliens, the leader of the Earthling guerrillas, and the leader of the alien fifth column aiding the Earthlings, are all played by women. They are seen performing the same activities as the men (planning, fighting, counterattacking, infiltrating, etc...), thus removing the most important visible signs of difference (1989: 132).

Thus, to an extent, *Star Trek: The Next Generation's* advances in the presentation of women in positions of power are considerably minimalized when compared with the command positions women received in *V*. Nevertheless, along with *Star Trek: The Next Generation*, *V* is another illustration of the changing presentation of women on television within the realm of science fiction in the 1980s.

[35] *V* started as two NBC miniseries; one of four hours in 1983, another of six hours in 1984. For the 1984-85 television season, *V* was brought back in a one hour weekly format by NBC. The series lasted 19 episodes.

VI. Conclusion

A. Interventionism, Power Relations and Social Change

The present thesis has employed two analytic approaches to examine transformations in power relations in the television *Star Treks*. In chapter three, with a structural methodology derived from Will Wright's formalist analysis of the American Western film, it was argued that six episodes from the original *Star Trek* contain narrative structures which can be labeled 'interventionist'. In turn, it was revealed that this same interventionist narrative model has yet to occur in the ongoing *Next Generation* series. Instead, eleven episodes of *Star Trek: The Next Generation* were identified as 'non-interventionist'; while, none from the original *Star Trek* series could be labeled in the same manner.

It was argued that these thematic differences were, in part, the result of oppositional command styles employed by the Captains of the old and new Enterprise. Captain Kirk was seen to rely predominantly upon military strength and a self-righteous belief in traditional American ideals of a capitalistic democracy; whereas, Captain Picard was seen to depend upon his intellect, and common sense reasoning. Thus, the oppositional coding of the Enterprise Captains served to identify one outlet through which cultural beliefs and values were, and still are, being transmitted. However, taken alone, oppositional coding could not adequately explain the causes for a thematic shift.

Therefore, to further understand the shift from themes of intervention to non-intervention, a brief discussion of changes in American foreign policy and cultural attitudes in the post-World War II era was undertaken. It was suggested that cultural attitudes have become more idealistic and less imperialistic since the late 1960s. At the same time, American foreign policy makers have attempted to keep pace with cultural values by preaching non-intervention and mediation.[36] That is, because ideological schemas have changed, so too

[36]In reality, however, this has not been the case. The United States has been seen

have the production regimes employed by the writers and producers of *Star Trek: The Next Generation*.

Consequently, this preliminary structural analysis revealed that *Star Trek: The Next Generation* is a valuable source of social commentary with its advocacy of non-violence and mediation as the solution to situations in which conflict arise. This makes the continued popularity of the original *Star Trek* series of great interest and potential concern. One must not forget that it is still regularly broadcast across North America, and around the world. Indeed, it simultaneously perpetuates American ideological beliefs that intervention is the preferable route for conflict resolution. Thus, given the undeniable power television holds in shaping attitudes and socialization, power relations in both *Star Trek* series merit closer comparison and examination.

B. Gender Representations and Power Relations

In chapter four, to more closely examine power relations in the television *Star Treks*, Will Wright's methods were again employed as a formula for comparing gender representations and relations. A case study was conducted of one episode from each series. This study revealed a narrative theme of dominant male/submissive female in the 1967 episode "Space Seed", as opposed to a narrative theme of dominant male/resistant female the 1989 episode, "The Price".

To uncover deeper structural meanings than those possible with Wright's methods, Robert Hodge and Gunther Kress' *Social Semiotics* (1988) was introduced and applied to specific visual frames and dialogue sequences. This social semiotic analysis demonstrated that the shift from dominant male/submissive female to dominant male/resistant female was, in turn, linked to a shift from a predominant 'seduction' structure to a predominant

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[36](cont'd) to resort to acts of intervention on several occasions over the last two decades.

'professional' structure. However, taken alone, this merging and application of methodological approaches to one episode of each series, was insufficient to make any firm conclusions with respect to gender relations on the television *Star Treks*.

As a result, in chapter five, a quantitative analysis of leadership and gender representation in the old and new *Star Trek* was conducted. Using basic content analysis methods, it was revealed that women have been significantly underrepresented in leadership positions on both *Star Trek* television series. It was found that senior female officers on the original series were virtually non-existent through its 79 episode run. Similarly, only four senior female officers (3 Captains, 1 Admiral) have, to date, been featured on *Star Trek: The Next Generation*.

Given the significant underrepresentation of female leaders on the television *Star Treks*, Hodge and Kress' methods were again adopted and applied to visual frames and dialogue sequences. This social semiotic analysis demonstrated, through the analysis of two female leaders from each series, that female leaders were depicted in a highly negative fashion in the original series. In contrast, female leaders in the ongoing *Next Generation* series have received far more positive presentations. To account for this structural shift it was argued that an emergent ideological schema — the second wave of the women's movement — has slowly legitimated the notion of a professional working woman both in the 'real' world and on television. Thus, this shift in ideological schema has, in turn, affected production regimes for the makers of both *Star Trek* television series. Although analyses of gender representation on television have been mostly quantitative, those which have been conducted have been contradictory. Some research suggests that television continues to lag behind in its depiction of women, while others have been more optimistic. All in all, the indications are that *Star Trek: The Next Generation* marks a change in gender representation on television with its depiction of strong-willed women in professional positions and/or positions of power.

C. Future Directions for the Analysis of the Television *Star Treks*

Only a small number of studies related to the portrayal of women on television in the 1980s are available at present. Nevertheless, the findings of the preceding structural and social semiotic analyses of gender representations in the television *Star Treks* can be considered a positive indicator in terms of how characterizations of women on television have changed since the 1960s. Whether a more extensive examination of the new *Star Trek* series will confirm or refute the differences which have been found in this preliminary analysis is a task which merits further consideration.

In addition, analyses of power relations in the original *Star Trek* are of equal importance given its continued popularity more than 20 years after its cancellation.[37] Indeed, Anne Cranny-Francis makes a strong argument for the continued study of the *Star Trek* phenomenon. She argues that *Star Trek* was no more sexist than most other 1960s television programs. However, as already noted, millions of people around the world still watch the original series. Therefore, she believes that on these "grounds alone, it [is] imperative to understand how the show functions as a collection of signifying practices — so that we are aware of the kinds of messages emanating from it (even if we know it is sexist, we also need to know *how* it is sexist), and hence we can apply those insights, that understanding of the operation of sexism/sexist signifying practices, to contemporary cultural products" (1985: 283).

Thus, to conclude, the following proposal for future studies of the *Star Trek* phenomenon can be made. The usefulness of semiotics in the evaluation of transformations in power relations has been established by the present thesis. It has been determined that differing ideological visions with respect to power relations are transmitted by the old and new *Star Trek*. These meanings are determined by a number of factors. Producers and receivers

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[37]In some markets, the original *Star Trek* can still be seen six or seven days a week.

are linked in a semiosic relationship via the mimetic and semiotic planes. Therefore, a logical progression from the present discussion is an analysis of the multiplicity of meanings derived by a number of receivers, i.e., viewers. As Hodge and Tripp explain, "meanings gained from television are renegotiated and altered in the process of discourse, and in that form have social status and effect" (1986: 217). Consequently, multiple perceptions with respect to the old and new *Star Trek* inevitably exist and must necessarily be analyzed if one wishes to tackle the evasive and unenviable task of evaluating the effects of television on both children and adults. Indeed, as Hodge and Tripp stress: "television has a social role to play, but only in conjunction with other forces and structures, [it] can never be singly and aberrantly determining" (1986: 218).

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APPENDIX I

A: Original *Star Trek*: 'Federation Leaders'

Male Leaders	Episode	Female Leaders	Episode
Captain Pike	The Menagerie/The Cage	Assistant Federation Commisioner Nancy Hedford	Metamorphosis
Captain Kirk	All Episodes		
Galactic High Commisioner Ferris	The Galileo Seven		
Commodore Stone	Court-Martial		
Captain Chandra	Court-Martial		
Captain Krasnowsky	Court-Martial		
Commodore Mendez	The Menagerie		
Commodore Barstow	The Alternative Factor		
Ambassador Robert Fox	A Taste of Armageddon		
Admiral Komak	Amok Time		
Commodore Matthew Decker	The Doomsday Machine		
Commodore George Stocker	The Deadly Years		
Admiral Fitzpatrick	The Trouble With Tribbles		
Captain R. M. Merik	Bread and Circuses		
Federation Cultural Representative John Gill	Patterns of Force		
Commodore Robert Wesley	The Ultimate Computer		
Captain Ronald Tracey	The Omega Glory		
Admiral Westervliet	For the World is Hollow and I Have Touched the Sky		
Garth of Izar (Former Starship Captain)	Whom Gods Destroy		
Admiral Fitzgerald	The Mark of Gideon		
Total Male Federation Leaders: 20		**Total Female Federation Leaders:** 1	

B: Original *Star Trek*: 'Non-Federation Leaders'

Male Leaders	Episode	Female Leaders	Episode
The Keeper	The Menagerie/The Cage	Edith Keeler	The City on the Edge of Forever
Spaceship Captain Balok	The Corbomite Maneuver	Vulcan Leader T'Pau	Amok Time
Mining Leader Ben Childress	Mudd's Women	Elaan	Elaan of Troyius
Romulan Commander	Balance of Terror	Romulan Commander	The Enterprise Incident
Roger Korby	What are Little Girls Made of?	Draconian Leader Kara	Spock's Brain
Penal Colony Director, Dr. Tristan Adams	Dagger of the Mind	High Priestess Natira	For the World is Hollow and I Have Touched the Sky
Gorn Spaceship Captain	Arena	Kalandan Leader Losira	That Which Survives
Captain Christopher	Tomorrow is Yesterday	Troglyte Leader Vanna	The Cloud Minders
Air Police Sergeant	Tomorrow is Yesterday	Expedition Leader Janice Lester	The Turnabout Intruder
Colonel Fellini	Tomorrow is Yesterday		
Landru	Return of the Archons		
Council Head Anan 7	A Taste of Armageddon		
Khan Noonian Singh	Space Seed		
Colony Leader Elias Sandoval	This Side of Paradise		
Chief Mining Engineer Vanderberg	The Devil in the Dark		
Klingon Commander Kor	Errand of Mercy		
Organian Council Leaders (4)	Errand of Mercy		
High Teer Akaar	Friday's Child		
High Teer Maad	Friday's Child		
Chief City Administrator Hengist	Wolf in the Fold		
High Priest Akuta	The Apple		
Harry Mudd	I, Mudd		
Klingon Captain Koloth	The Trouble With Tribbles		

Proconsul Claudius Marcus	Bread and Circuses
Ambassador Sarek	Journey to Babel
Tellarite Ambassador Gav	Journey to Babel
Tribal Leader Tyree	A Private Little War
Klingon Leader Krell	A Private Little War
The Providers (3)	The Gamesters of Triskelion
The Gang Bosses (6)	A Piece of the Action
Kelvan Leader Rojan	By Any Other Name
Arret Leader Sargon	Return to Tomorrow
Melakon	Patterns of Force
Yang Leader Cloud William	The Omega Glory
Lord Petri	Elaan of Troyius
Medicine Chief Salish	The Paradise Syndrome
Romulan Subcommander Tal	The Enterprise Incident
Gorgan	And the Children Shall Lead
Lal	The Empath
Thann	The Empath
Klingon Captain Kang	The Day of the Dove
Platonian Leader Parmen	Plato's Stepchildren
Governor Donald Cory	Whem Gods Destroy
Gideon Councilman Hodin	The Mark of Gideon
High Advisor Plasus	The Cloudminders
Dr. Severin	The Way to Eden

Total Male Non-Federation Leaders: 57

Total Female Non-Federation Leaders: 9

Source: Asherman, Allan. 1986. *The Star Trek Compendium*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

APPENDIX II

A: *Star Trek: The Next Generation*: **'Federation Leaders'**

Male Leaders	Episode	Female Leaders	Episode
Captain Picard	All Episodes	Captain Trylla Scott	Conspiracy
Commander Orvil Quinteros	11001001	Captain Philipa Louvois	The Measure of A Man
Admiral Mark Jameson	Too Short A Season	Captain Rachel Garrett	Yesterday's Enterprise
Admiral Gregory Quinn	Coming of Age/Conspiracy	Admiral Gromek	The Emissary
Starfleet Inspector General	Coming of Age		
Dexter Remmick			
Captain Paul Rice	The Arsenal of Freedom		
Admiral Savar	Conspiracy		
Admiral Aaron	Conspiracy		
Captain Walter Keel	Conspiracy		
Captain Rixx	Conspiracy		
Captain Taggart	Unnatural Selection		
Captain L.I. Tolaka	Unnatural Selection		
Admiral Nakamura	The Measure of A Man		
Captain Donald Varley	Contagion		
Admiral Haden	The Defector		
Admiral Haftel	The Offspring		
Captain DeSoto	Tin Man		
Admiral Hanson	The Best of Both Worlds		
Total Male Federation Leaders: 18		**Total Female Federation Leaders:** 4	

B: *Star Trek: The Next Generation*: 'Non-Federation Leaders'

Male Leaders	Episode	Female Leaders	Episode
Bandi Leader Groppler Zorn	Encounter At Farpoint	First Electorine Valeda Innis	Haven
Ligonian Leader Lutan	Code of Honor	Mistress Beate	Angel One
Captain DaiMon Taar	The Last Outpost	Salia the Dauphin	The Dauphin
Badar N'D'D'	Lonely Among us	Romulan Subcommander Toras	Contagion
Kavi Raz	Lonely Among Us	Betazed Representative	Manhunt
		Lwaxana Troi	
Mordan Leader Karnas	Too Short A Season	Mintakan Leader Nuria	Who Watches the Watcher
First Appointee Radue	When The Bough Breaks	Premier Bhavani	The Price
Director Kurt Mandl	Home Soil	Sovereign Marouk	The Vengeance Factor
Klingon Captain Koras	Heart of Glory	Police Force Leader Alexana Devos	The High Ground
Klingon Captain K'ner	Heart of Glory	Station Administrator Dr. Sara Kingsley	Unnatural Selection
		Special Emissary K'heleyr	The Emissary
Captain Tejon	Symbiosis		
Romulan Commander T'Bok	The Neutral Zone		
Captain Okana	The Outrageous Okana		
Captain Debin	The Outrageous Okana		
Captain Kushell	The Outrageous Okana		
Klingon Captain Kargan	A Matter of Honor		
Pakled Captain Grebnedlog	Samaritan Snare		
Prime Minister Granger	Up the Long Ladder		
Bringloidis Leader Danilo O'Deil	Up the Long Ladder		
Klingon Captain K'Temoc	The Emissary		
Tau Cygna Five Leader Goshevin	The Ensigns of Command		
Romulan Commander Tomalak	The Enemy		
Gatherer Leader Chorgon	The Vengeance Factor		
Romulan Admiral Jarok	The Defector		

Prime Minister Nayrok	The Hunted
Renegade Leader Kyril Finn	The High Ground
Tanugan Investigator Krag	A Matter of Perspective
Klingon High Council Leader K'mpec	Sins of the Father
Ambassador Sarek	Sarek
DaiMon Tog	Menage A Troi
Commander Sunad	Transfigurations

Total Male Non-Federation Leaders: 33

Total Female Non-Federation Leaders: 11

Source: Lyon, Jim Shaun. 1990. *Star Trek: The Next Generation Episodes Guides*. CompuServe: Science Fiction Forum.